

Four Paradoxes,

or politique Discourses.


1. Concerning Militarie Discipline, written long since by Thomas Digges Esquire.
2. Of the worthinesse of warre and warriors, by Dudly Digges, his sonne.

All newly published to keepe those that
will read them, as they did them that wrote
them, from idlenesse.

Horace. *Me castra inuans & litus tuba
Permissus sonitus, bellaque matribus
Detestata.*



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ment Knight, and are to be solde at his shop at the
Signe of the holy Lambe in Saint Pauls
Churchyard. 1604.


To the Honourable THEOPHILVS
HOVVARD, Lord HOVVARD of Walden,
sonne and heire apparent to the Right Honorable
Earle of Suffolke, Lord Chamber-
laine to his Maieslie,

A Generall report (worthy Lord) of your honourable disposition bred in mee even at my first coming into France, an earnest desire to see you, which through your courtesie & my good fortune was happily effected: But when I perceined with what vertuous industrie you indeavored to make the best vse, of your wel spent time, in those parts; I cōceined great hope to receiue much greater contentment, in so truly honourable acquaintance, and the tast I had of your fauours assured me I had beene happy in my hopes; had not my untimely returne, such were my vnfortunat crosses, deprived mee of the comfort I tooke, in the company of your admired vertue. Notwithstanding I haue hitherto fed my selfe with the hope of your returne &c. Hoc equidem occasum Troie tristisque ruinas solabor, this shall bee my refuge. In the meane time as Lewes of France did his country friends rape roote, or as the Percian King did the poore maus Apple, I intreat your Lordship to accept these sleight discourses as a token of the dutifull respect I owe you: They are I know most unworthy your Maiden patronage, yet my first fruites they bee, and I earnestly desire, that my first borne should beare your honours Name.

Your Honors deuoted

Dudly Digges.



To the Reader.

THat there are many faultes in these fewe leaues I doubt not, neither would I but you should finde fault, yet not maliciously with wrested and vnnaturall applications, yet not too peremptorily till you haue children of your owne: onely this, if you bee such a Merchant as hateth a Souldier, thinke it no victorie to picke matter of aduantage out of my weake handling of their good cause: If on the contrarie you loue the profession, take in good part these slight endeauors, till some one of better abilitie speak more effectually, and let this publike protestation assure you I am no dissembler, but one that heartily desireth to shew himselfe a louing countreyman to men that so well deserue the loue of their Countrey. Farewell.





☞ The First Paradox.

That no Prince, or State doth gaine, or saue by giuing too small entertainment vnto Souldiers, Officers, or Commanders Martiall: but doe thereby extremely loose, and vnprofitably waste their Treasure, besides the dishonour and foiles, that necessarily thereof ensue.

I Confesse sparing of Treasure, and all due prouidence for the preservation thereof, to bee a thing verie necessarie, especially in the warres of this our age, where treasure is indeed becom *Nervus Belli*; and therefore by all reasonable prouisions to be regarded.

But there are in all actions some sparings, or pretence of profit, that are vtterly vnprofitable, fond, and foolish, and woorking effects cleane contrary to that end, for the which such pinching is pretended. As, who seeth not, that, if a husbandman (that hath first allotted a reasonable proportion of graine, for euerie Acre of his arable ground) shall (of a couetous minde) abate a quarter, or one third part of his due proportion of seede, thinking thereby to saue somuch; who, (I say) seeth not, that by

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this

this foolish sauing in the seede, in the crop hee shall loose thrice as much, besides the hurtfull Weeds, that, for want of seede sufficient, grow-vp, and spoile the rest? Or, if a *Merchant*, setting forth his Ship to the seas, fraught with Marchaodize, shall know that (to rigge her well, and furnish her with all needfull Tackle, furniture and prouision) it will cost him full 500. pounds: Yet, of a coueteous and greedie minde to saue thereof some 100. pounds, or two, hee shall scant his prouision, wanting perhaps some Cables, Ankers, or other-like necessaries, and after (by a Storme arising) for fault thereof shall loose both Ship and goods. Who will not condemne this miserable foolish Merchant, that (pecuiously to saue one hundred pounds, or two) hath lost both ship and goods, perhaps of 10. times greater value? Much more is the folly of this error in *Martial* causes, where the Tempests are as sodaine, and no lesse perillous. And therefore such fond sparing, is farre more absurd in these Actions, than in eyther of those, of the *Husbandman* or *Merchant*. For prooofe whereof, if I should produce Antique Examples out of the *Romane* and *Gracian Chronicles* of such Kings and Princes, as (by such fond sparing of their Treasure) had lost both their Treasure, and their Kingdomes also, I could easily make of this subiect a great volume: but for breuitie sake (leauing many Antiquies) I come to our present age and time, and to matters of our owne Remembrance, and Experience. For who knoweth not, What course the *States* of the *United Provinces* tooke, for payment of their souldiers, before the arriual of her *Majesties Lord Generall*, the Earle of *Leicester*. Who, for sparing, or to make (as they pretended) their treasour stretch, did pay their *Bands* after 48. daies to the Moneth, their pay being so scant and bare at 30. onely to the Moneth, as it was verie hard for souldiers, or Captaines, to liue honestly vpon it: And the same being now stretched to 48. daies, vtterly impossible for them to liue without

Frauds

Frauds in Musters, and pickories, besides on their Countrey and friends. Hereof it came to passe, that the honest, and valiantest men retired themselues from the warres, and the worst disposed Free-booters were readiest to enter with these base conditions. For such a Captaine (as intendeth onely dishonestly, by Fraud and Robberie to enrich himselfe, to the ruine of his Countrey) will especially desire to serue on such base conditions, as honestly it is impossible for euerie man to liue vpon: And so hauing iust colour thereby to shifte, hath all these meanes ensuing infinitely to enrich himselfe.

First, (in the choise of his officers) to get, or accept such Free-booters and Theeues, as (onely to haue the name and priuiledge of a souldier, to escape the paine due by *Martiall* lawe to such vnsouldierlike persons) will serue without pay, or with halfe pay.

Then, euerie of these his officers *Lieutenants, Ensigne, Serieants &c.* (being men of that Crewe) will draw in as many also as they can of the same Moulde, to liue on pickorie without pay, and therefore very readie to serue in their loose manner with halfe pay. Of such Rakehels then the Captaine hauing rayzed an *Ensigne*, passeth his Muster, and is sent to his Garrison, or place of Seruice.

Now, the Prince or State that is serued with such as will accept these vn timerly base conditions, is much deceiued, if hee thinke to bee souldierly serued. *Viz.* To haue their *Watches* and *Wardes* strong, vigilant, and carefull: For in steede of one thousand five hundred souldiers past in Muster, they shall neuer finde fiftie on *Guard*, or *Sentinels*, vpon any Round: As all honest *Serieant-Majors*, and other officers (that haue past their Rounds) can testifie: The rest (if he keepe any more) being eyther abroad in the country at the *Picoree*, or in the

garrison more vnhoneſtly occupied, in abuſing ſome honeſt *Burgher* his wife or ſeruants : (for, to drudge in watch or ward the gallanteſt of this crew diſdaine,) If any faults bee complained off, the excuſe is readie : Alas their pay is ſo ſmall, as wee muſt winke at faults.

But if at any time the *Commiſſarie* of *Muſters* come with treaſure to paſſe a *Muſter*, ye ſhall euer finde them ſtrong 150. preſent and abſent orderly ſet downe in *Muſter Rolles*. And for their Abſents ſuch formall Teſtimonials, Proteſtations, and oathes, as among Chriſtians were horrible to diſcredit, and their fraudes ſo artiſcially conueyed, as will bee hard to trie : But the treuth is, *Forgery* & *Periury* are the firſt leſſons ſuch Freeboters learne, and then *Pallardize*, *Murder*, *Treachery*, and *Treaſon* are their Attendants. Heereof it came to paſſe (for many yeares together) that after the death of *Don Iohn de Austria*, the *States* loſt ſuch a number of Cities, Townes, Forts, Caſtles and Sconces, yea whole and entier Prouinces reuolted from thē, by reaſon of the extorſions, oppreſſions, & robberies inſolently committed on the Country people, and beſt Subiects, by theſe inſatiable Cormorants, Lyons to their friends, and Hares in preſence of their enemies, hauing not only, *Linguiſed animas venales, manus rapaces, pedes fugaces, & qua honeſte nominari non poſſunt inhoneſtiſſima, verò Galeati Lepores et Hyrudines Erarij*. And this baſe beggerly pay the onely ground-plot of all theſe horrible villanies, odious to God and man, and not tollerable in any Chriſtian Government.

For, if Princes or States will giue ſuch conueient pay, as men of value, and honeſty may ſparingly liue-on without fraud and robbery, they may boldly execute *Martial* diſcipline, & purge their Army of theſe idle Drones, and carowſing picking Caterpillers : And in ſtead of theſe, they ſhall (in ſhort time) haue their Enſignes compleat with valiant, honeſt, ſober, loyall ſouldiers, that ſhall carefully

carefully and painefully in watch and ward execute their *Martiall* duties.

The Earle of *Leicester* with his owne eyes beheld before *Zurphen* campe nigh *Arnhem* two or three Regiments of Scotts and Dutch in the States pay, sent for by Count *Hollock* as the most choise bands that followed him, hauing sixteene or eighteene Ensignes in their Regiments, and paid for nigh three thousand souldiers: That (marching in ranke, and after embattailed) were found not full one thousand, besides their officers.

Now, if the States had paid truely but 10 Ensignes after 30. daies to the moneth, (as her Maiestie did) and by *Martiall* discipline haue kept them strong, they should haue had 500. more heads and hands to fight at least in such 10. than in these 18 Ensignes paid after 48. daies. And at the very same time, & the same place his *Excellency* saw eight *English* Ensignes embattailed in the same Field, that for heads of men were more than 16. of the other Ensignes, and for Armes & weapon ful double so strong: And yet these eight Ensignes stood not her Maiesty (paying honourably) in somuch as the other 18. so dishonourably paid by the States, by many thousand Gilders a moneth.

Most foolish therefore, and peeuish is such sauing in these *Martiall* causes, being more absurd farre and fond than other of those my first *Examples* of the paltering *Husbandman* or miserable *Merchant* that stumbleth at a straw, an dswalloweth a blocke, and by greedie pinching for a penny, fondly looseth or wasteth pound.

But that dishonour that falleth out in these actions is much more to bee respected: For, if eight Ensignes (well and truely paid) shall ever bee stronger in all *Martiall* encounters than 18. of the other: how much more honour shall it bee with eight Ensignes to haue performed any honourable action than to haue done the same with eighteene? As contrariwise the foise, to loose eight En-

signes is farre lesse than to loose eighteenc.

Againe, if the *States* had rayzed a meane Army (not of such Mercenarie vagabondes as would serue on any conditions, resoluing by pickorie and extortion to enrich themselues) but of temperate, honest, painefull, valiant souldiers which full easily with sufficient and compleat pay they might hane done, and then haue kept a steddy hand on Martiall discipline, seuerely to haue punished such cornorants as should any way haue spoyled or extorted on the countrey *Boer*, or honest *Burgher*. They had neuer tasted those horrible Ruines of their townes and desolation of their countries, that afterwards for many yeares they did. For it was not the great *Subsidies* or *Lenies* made on *Brabant*, and *Flanders*, and other vpland Prouinces by the *States* vnited that made them all reuolt afterward to the Prince of *Parma*, but onely these abuses, spoiles and pickories. For in *Holland* and *Zealand* they haue euer since, and doe still leuie as great and farre greater contributions than euer they did on those malcontêted Prouinces: But it was the wrongs, iniuries, Insolencies and Extorsions committed by this crew of degenerate bastardy souldiers or rather pickers, the seruants or rather idolatrous slaues of their misbegotten Mistresse Madam *Picorea* that alienated the harts vtterly of these Prouinces. The people hauing reason to reuolt to the gouernment of *Papists* or *Turks* rather than to endure the outrages committed on them, their wiues and daughters by those their owne hirelings so deeply wounding them in wealth and honor. For what Tribute, Subsidie or Taske had not beene farre more tollerable to any honest or Christiã peöple than to haue such a crew of hell-hounds laid vpon them? As, not content to haue the best chambers, beds, and fare that their host could yeeld them; yea wine also bought and farre set for them, but would enforce them to pay money also, and yet at their parting (in recompence or their good Entertainment)

rifle

rifle them of all that was portable of any value, besides other indignities not to bee spoken of by honest tongues, or heard by modest eares. The horror of these villaines hath made *Holland* wisely and providently these douzen yeares and more yearely to giue ten folde greater contributions (yearly I say respectiueley weighed) than the greatest Subsidie or beneuolence that euer our Nation gaue during all these 34. yeares of her Maiesties most gracious and happie Reigne. The which they doe most frankly and willingly stil continue to maintaine the warres out of the bowels of their owne country, and to free themselues of those horrible oppressions which they sawe executed among their Neighbours, which wise Resolution of theirs God hath also so fauoured and blessed with extraordinarie aydes and fauors many waies, as these of *Holland* are not the poorer, but rather much richer than they were before the warres began, Notwithstanding their huge contributions are such, as in commo reason a man would thinke were able to begger any mightie Kingdome: That little countrey of *Holland* onely (being for scope of ground and firme land not comparable with the least of any one of many Shieres in England) yealdeth to the warres yearely a greater contribution than halfe the fiftie Shires of *England* euer yet did in any one yeare by any Subsidie. It is not therefore the great charges or contributions that beggereth or spoyleth any countrey, but the ill disposing of the Treasure leuied, and the ill gouernement of the Souldierie therewith maintained, which becommeth indeed more odious and intollerable to any Christian Nation or people farre, than any Tax or Subsidie that is possible to bee cessed or imposed on them: Neither is it the multitude of Ensignes that terrifieth the Enemy, but choise election of the Souldiery, and the true execution of Martiall discipline.

Herof it hath come to passe that so smal handfuls of *Spaniards* (while they were wel paid & disciplined) did at sondry times

times foile so many Ensignes of these Mercenary Freebooters: And contrariwise after those *Spaniards* fell to mutinies (for want of pay) and to committing of like extorsions and insolencies on the Country people, they caused a sodaine reuolt of all the Prouinces.

But for our owne Nation I holde it a *Maxime* most assured, and hardly by any one Example, to be disprooued: That euer wee receiued any foile where our Ensignes were compleat, but only in such places, and at such times, as our Ensignes were maintained (not like the eight Ensignes before mentioned in the Earle of *Leicesters* time in her Maesties pay) but rather as the other eight in the States pay, as will bee found too too true, if it bee deeply examined.

The like I say in pay of Officers and superiour Commanders, that to giue them honourable and conuenient entertainment is not onely not vnprofitable, but most profitable and gainefull to any King, Prince, or State: And the contrary (I meane by accepting or admitting such Commanders or Officers as will offer themselves to serue for small or base entertainment) is a thing vnto the King or State not onely dishonourable, and most hurtfull (in respect of the seruice) but also euen in regard of their Treasure onely most vnprofitable, damageable, and discommodious, as I will prooue by manifest and true reasons.

But because the Discourse would be ouer-long & tedious, if I should particularly enter into the office or charge of euerie seuerall kinde of Officer or Commander, I will only choose two, of either sort one, which (to coniecture and discern of all the rest) may abundantly suffice to prooue my present *Proposition*.

Among *Commanders* therefore I will onely entreate of the *Collonell* or *Maestro del Campo*. And among chiefe *Officers* of the *Comptroller*, *Censur*, or *Musters Master Generall*.

And first of *Colonels* I say, if they take vpon them that charge to command any conuenient number of Ensignes appropriat to their Regiment, it is fit their entertainment bee proportionall to their reputation and charge : The which as it farre surmounteth a priuate Captain, so ought his allowance to bee accordingly, as wel for maintenance of a conuenient Table, to entertaine the chiefe officers of his regiment. As chiefly such gentlemen of value as many times (without charge or office to see the warres vpon their owne priuate expences) will follow him.

For if this *Colonell*, haue not such entertainment from his Prince or State, hee must of necessitie eyther spoyle or vndoe himselfe to maintaine that port is fit, which fewe in these daies will, or for remedie helpe himselfe by tolerating frauds in Musters, and suffering the Captaines of his Regiment to keepe their bands halfe emptie : Out of the which both Captaines and Coronell may pay themselves double and treble the greatest entertainment that euer any King yet gaue, but not without the very ruine and vtter dishonour of their Nation.

For what Captain is there so foolish miserable, (if hee make no conscience to gaine by robbing of his Prince or State;) that will not bee content to giue one halfe of these his foule and corrupt gaines, to enioy the other? Knowing otherwise hee shall not onely quite loose that base gaine, if hee bee called to account for it, but his reputation and life also, if Iustice bee duely executed. But if by his chiefe *Colonels* fauour, hee may bee paid for 150. and keepe scarce 60. to defend his Ensigne, and so gaine a thousand pounds a yeare cleare, to giue the moytie yearly thereof to go scot-free with the rest, and escape the shame thereunto due, hee maketh a verie profitable bargain if such dishonest lucre deserue the name of profit, which course of gaine is so much the more damnable and perillous to bee suffered, because it vtterly discourageth the honest valiant Captaines, and enricheth

the contrary: And so tendeth to the verie Ruine and ouerthrow of all true vertue and value.

For if the chiefe Commaunder bee so affected as hee will bee by any such deuice to supply his wants: In very gratitude and pollicy hee must most countenance those that yeeld him most benefit: And those Captaines may be most beneficiall to him, that (by keeping their Bands most feeble) doe most rob their Prince or State. And so the worst persons (of such Commaunders) must of force bee most fauoured and countenanced.

Farther these Favorites if they commit any other Extorsions on their Countymen, Friends, or Allies, being entered into such a *League* with their Commaunders, it is likely they may finde the more Fauour also, and thereby more boldly by all deuices and extorsions rake-in Wealth to maintaine themselues, their Patrones, and Followers in excessiue brauerie.

Whereas the right valiant Captaine indeed, that (keeping his Band strong and compleat with armed souldiers, gaining nothing about his bare Wages, nor will extort vnhonestly vpon any Friend or Allie, and his wages (besides his meat and Attimes) scarcely sufficient twice in a yeare to buy him a Sute of Buffe) Remayneth as a Man contemned and disgraced: Where the other by his Robberies and pickories can florish in Monethly change of sutes of silke, dawbed with Embroderies of golde and siluer lace, and Jewels also: And so countenanced by such Commaunders Fauour, and by such other mighty Friends as his spoiles may procure. That both abroad and at home also generally this picking, luscious rousing Freebooter shall bee called a braue valiant souldier, yea Fit to bee a *Collonell* or great commander that can drinke, and dice &c, with the proudest: When the true, valiant, honest, and right Martiall Captaine indeed is not able in such riotous Expences to keep port with the others waiting Seruants.

But whether these silken, golden, embroydered delicate Captaines (with their demy feeble Ensignes) Or the other plaine leather, well armed, sober, painefull, valiant Captaines (with their compleat Ensignes of armed souldiers maintained as their companions) shall doo their Prince or Countrey more honour at a day of Service? If wee haue not yet learned, wee shall I doubt hereafter, if these abuses bee not reformed, with the dishonourable losse of many more *English* Ensignes, than all the *Chronicles* these 500. yeares before could tell vs of, to remaine for an vnhonorable monument of these our errors, to all posteritie.

For I haue euer found it in my experience a Rule almost infallible among priuate Captaines: The more braue and gallant the Captaine is in his apparrell, and Wastfull in Expences, the more poore, feeble, weake and miserable ye shall for the most part finde his souldiers full of lice many times, & stinking for want of a shirt to change the, when such Commaunders with sonie few Fauorites are ouer sweete and fine.

And then is it any Meruaile if so braue and gallant a Gentleman (perfumed perhaps with Muske and Syuet) disdain to haunt the filthy *Corps du gardes* of ragged, lothsome, lowsie souldiers? Or is it any meruaile then, (where Captains giue this Example:) If Lieutenants & Ensignes also do take their ease, and liuing in like delicacy, disdaine to associate themselues with their poore flocks.

If Townes of great Importance haue beene lost by the cowardize of some one *Corps du gard*, that beastly haue abandoned without blowes, a ground of such aduantage as was defensible against any Royall Army: Onely, because at the approach therof, there was neither Captaine, Lieutenant nor Ensigne present on the guard, but a knot only of these poore Ghosts: And thereby dishonorably a town of great Importance lost, very experiëce (me thinks) should teach vs rather to choose such Captains as would

so apparrell themselves, and regard their fellow-souldiers, as they should not disdain their company, or abhorre their stinke.

I haue read, that a worthy *Generall* of the *Gracians*, after hee had with a small Army of valiant, rude, plaine, sober, obedient souldiers conquered ten times as many of the rich, silken, golden, riotous perfumed *Persians*, abounding with horses and chariots and Armour of golde, because (quoth hee) the *Persians* were so delicately and daintily bred, as they were not able to abide the fauor of my souldiers arme-holes.

I would therefore wish no Captaines chosen but such as should contemne vtterly such feminine delicacy in apparrell and wastfull riotous expences, and could be content to make himselfe a companion of his fellow souldiers, and think his honour consisted (not in gay garments) but in good Armes, in the strength of his band, in his trauels, paines, watchings, and aduentures, and not in crowning or perfuming, or any other delicious, idle, or rather effeminate vnmanly vanitie. For as *Marius* the Romane *Generall* auerred: *Munditia mulieribus, viris laborem conuenire*: So, if Souldiers and Captaines would contend one to excell another therein, (I meane in Military labours and carefull aduenterous endeaours, contemning all delicious pompes and idle ease, as effeminate and vnworthy their professions) then should wee see a great alteration, both of the fortune and fame of our Nation which heeretofore hath euer been comparable with the best and most renowned.

But the onely or chiefe meanes to bring this to passe, is, first to allow vnto the *Generall* and chiefe Commaunders so honourable and conuenient Entertainment, as may suffice to maintaine the port and honour of their place, without practising or consenting to any corruptions, especially such as vtterly disgrace the good, and enrich the bad, deface the painfull, carefull, sober, valiant
Captaine,

Captaine, and aduance the idle, negligent, riotous coward. But aboute all things to haue him detested more than a coward, that (of a base corrupt nunde) shall seeke to make his gaine by keeping his hand feeble and weake, and by deceipts, fraud and periuries at Musters to contriue the same: For by this meanes hee doth not onely rob his Princes treasure, but is also guiltie of the blood of those souldiers that are slaine for want of hands to fight when the honour of their Nation comes to triall.

As all true Martiall Discipline therefore is not to be reuiued and put in execution among our Nation: So especially that part which concerneth this mightie and grosse abuse (aboute all other) ought most seuerely to bee regarded. And to the end Officers of Musters may by the *Generall* or chiefe *Gouernours* be countenanced in their honest proceedings. (for discouerie and correction of such abominable frauds and Robberies as so vially and shamelessly haue beene practized) I would wish their owne particular bands (where they haue any) should alway bee allowed them without checke, for any default: presuming in honour they would bee the more carefull to bee an example to other, when they shall see themselves by their Prince so trusted. And then hauing lesse cause (in respect of their priuate profit) to fauour any such deceipt in others, there is no doubt, but (hauing also honorable entertainmēt) they will (as they are by a double duty bound) honorably aduance that course of discipline which shall make their Armies victorious, themselves famous, and their Countrey felicious; especially if due regard bee had in the choise of such chiefe and principall *Commanders*, who ought indeed to bee honorable and not base minded persons.

And as good trees are not iudged by the blossomes, but by the fruits; So surely are men rather by their deedes than by shewes or partial Fame to be discerned: For, as in all other vocations, so chiefly in the warres by common

Fame such Commaunders euer shall be most extolled of their Followers, as most content their humors. Now if Captaines humors in this age of corruption, be for the greater part infected or depraued, to make choise yet by common fame or opinion, should be an error exceeding great: For as in the pestilent Feauers & like violent diseases, the *Patient* many times doth farre better like that Phisition which suffereth him to take colde liquors, & other pleasing phancies, agreeable to his appetite, which as very poysons doo cause his death, than such a Phisition as prescribeth a seuer dyet, accompanied with such bitter Medicines as only is able to saue his life, and restore his health and strength. And as the error therein were great to choose a Phisition after such sick mens appetites: so surely for reformation of these Martiall diseases, the error were no lesse absurd at the beginning, to choose such Generals or chiefe Commaunders by common Fame, or liking of most Captaines. But after Martiall discipline is againe in some good measure restored, & that Captaines begin to detest riotous expences in meate, drinke, and apparell (as effeminate delicacie) and contend who may exceede other in labour, paines, watchings, diligence, and vertuous Martiall Actions, hauing a right taste and sence in deede of true honour and Martiall valour, and wherein the same consisteth, and by some conuenient continuance of Exercise and vse made the same not greeuous but familiar vnto them: Then were there no more competent Iudges (of the abilitie and sufficiencie of a Generall,) than such, as (aduenturing their lyues with him) haue greatest neede and vse thereof.

But as that famous Generall and *Censor Cato* at Rome exclamed in his time, The publique had neede of a sharpe and mercilesse Phisition, and a violent purgation: And that therefore they were to choose (not such Commaunders as should be gratefull and gracious,) but resolute and seuer: So surely much more in this time and state
of

of warres haue wee caule to proclaime such choise, or rather great Princes and Magistrates to haue especiall care and regard thereof.

Now therefore if the *Collonell* or chiefe Commaunder be chosen such an honourable person, as of himselfe abhorres deceit, feare God, contemne gourmandize and quaffing, and other more base and beastly pleasures, or effeminate delicacies, by the example of many worthie Romaine Generals, as also of that famous victorious *Lacedemonian* Generall King *Agessilaus*, it shall be easie for him (hauing conuenient and honourable pay) to banish these Monsters out of his Campe or gouernment, as vnworthie for Souldiers professing Armes, & fitter for the pompous rich slaues of *Persia*.

But if contrariwise any chiefe Commaunders be persons that will winke at deceipts or fraudes in Musters, and make their profit (as infinitely they may thereby) no wonder if all the inferiour Captaines insolently put the same in execution, and keepe their Counsels and ordinarie Consultations how to exploite and execute those deceipts, and by all vnhoneest practises, slaunders, and lybels, &c, to disgrace any Officer that shall oppose himselfe dutifully against it: And so their Bands continued euer feeble, weake, and miserable.

Or if this Coronell or chiefe Commaunder be a person that hath no compassion on the poore priuate Souldiers, nor care to preferue and maintaine their lyues, but rather (respecting how largely he may make his gaine by their deaths) expose them to the Butcherie, yee shall presently haue almost all the Captaines regard the lesse than dogges.

Or if the *Collonell* or *Generall* (forgetting that right *Lacedemonian* law, that whosoever did saue his life by flight in the field, was infamous euer after euen to his graue) doo take so little shame (of running away in the field) as hee will haue for himselfe a horse of swift carriere:
alway

alway in readinesse vpon any daunger to take his leaue: What meruaile if yee haue inferiour Captaines provided for the like? Yea many times Liutenants, and Ensignes also? And what is then to bee expected, but dishonourable flight, shame and confusion, whensoever they are roundly charged by any souldiers?

If the *Collonell* or chiefe *Commander* bee a man, that (regarding wholly his profit) will winke at the extorsions of his Captaines, they haue reason to spare him halfe their pay, or all their Imprestes, for that they can full easily (from the *Boer* or *Burgher* vnder their crushing) extort much more than the greatest pay any Christian King yet gaue, and thereby so enrich themselves with Golde and Jewels, as they haue no reason any more to hazard their life, but to provide themselves good horses to escape away with their wealth whēsoever they shalbe charged: Leauing their souldiers to the slaughter, by whose deaths also there may grow a good *Dimidend*, to bee shared among such artificial Fugitiues.

If *Coronels* or chiefe *Commanders* of their ease, pleasure or priuate respects holde it no disgrace or shame to bee absent from their Regiments: No meruaile if any inferiour Captains bee readie to follow such discipline also, and consequently all their Faurites and persons best appointed. And then what meruaile if the silly Remnant of the feeble flocke (hauing scarcely Sheepeheard or Sheepeheards Dogge left to take the care and charge of them) become a pray to the Rauening Wolfe, that will not let slip so good an opportunitie.

But if the *Coronell* or chiefe *Commander* himselfe be such a one as takes no shame in Field to saue his life by flight: It is not strange that Captaines vnder his charge should imitate his discipline. And then much lesse reason haue priuate souldiers to stand so much vpon their honour, or rather to die than turne their face. But if such indeed bee the true profession of a souldier rather to die
resolutely

reafolutely in his ranke, than turne his face, or cowardly by flight to faue his life. If this bee the dutie of the meaneft and moft priuate fouldier, then how much rather is the Captaine, and much more the *Coronell* bound to fuch an honorable Refolution?

If in the moft honorable and Martiall Nations of the World, Such cowardize in a priuate fouldier hath beene noted with perpetuall shame, how much more ought it to bee detefted in Captaines? And then *a fortiori* in their Superiors.

But if by corrupt cuftome and education in licentious loofe warres, fuch principall perfons bee growne fo farre paft Shame, as not onely to commit thefe bafe and vn-fouldierlike errors, but alfo (that moft miserable is) in their ordinarie Discourses and banquets amids their Sacrifices to *Bacchus* at open Tables to vaunt of thefe their *Stratagems*, Recounting in how many Encounters, the places where, and when they fled gallantly, and spurred their horses in their *Violent Retreats*, who might runne fwifteft: What fhall wee fay but that fuch degenerate shameleffe perfons might (with much better reason) vant how many *Baftinadoes* they had receiued brauely?

For furely cowardize in a Man (efpecially profefling Armes) hath euer beene accounted the fouleft vice: As Incontinency the greateft difhoneftie in a woman. And as an honeft woman may fortune by violence to bee abused, and yet all her life time after cannot but blufh to haue it fpoken of: So though an honeft man (I meane a valiant man in the Field) by violence and multitude of Enemies vnhappyly fhould be enforced to turne his face: Yet afhamed fhould hee bee euer to heare it fpoken of. But as that State were horribly wicked where women fhould aduant openly of their Incontinency: So, desperate is their difeafe that are fo farre paft Shame to aduant of their cowardize: And miserable that State muft needs become, where fuch impudency fhould bee tollerable

for men professing Armes shamelesly to vaunt of their fearefull flights, or as they are termed in their new Discipline, *Their violent retraits*.

But (that most lamentable is) many times it may come to passe, that these impudent Runawaies being escaped (conforting themselues) shal by Rumors, letters, or printed *Pamphlets* perhaps sometimes disgrace those valiant men that resolutely died in the place, rather than they would shame themselues, and dishonour their countrey with a cowardly flight. And then such Fugitiues (extolling one another with *Heroicall* names, hauing also by their former pikories store of crowns to purchase friends, by such *Thraasonicall Stratagems*) of the ignorant multitude bee counted gallant souldiers, and fit for newe imployments. An error of all other the most daungerous: That (contrarie to all Martiall discipline) that fault that deserueth death or dishonourable disarming vnder a Gallowes, should bee honoured with new imployments, or greater credit.

But as the disgrace of a few Ringleaders of Runawaies and other corruptions would wonderfully reape the honour of any Nation: So the tolleration of them, and much more the imploying of them again in new charges by their Example may breed effects most dangerous and fearefull, if in time (by due execution of right Martiall discipline) such weeds bee not eradicate.

The *Lacedemonians* (by due obedience to their Martiall lawes) were become the most mighty and puissant State of all the *Gracians*, which then for Heroical prowesse surmounted all the world besides, as by the multitude of their victories on the *Oriental* Nations, and *Asiaticall* mighty Empires is apparant: Whose huge Armies and innumerable Forces they vanquished in a number of *Bastilles* with a very few, but choise, painefull, sober, well trained and disciplined Bands, being accustomed from their infancy to trauaile, paines, sobriety, and hardnes. And by
the

the same custome and education learned also with all dutie to obey their Superiors, Reuerence the Elders, and to feare nothing but shame and infamie: And of all infamies none so great to a man there as cowardize, being by their verie lawes noted with disgrace perpetuall to his death that ran away from his Enemies in the field, or saued his life by flight: Which fault was held so foule and base, as the very Mothers abhorred and renounced them, yea and some with their owne hands haue killed such of their sons as by flight in the field haue saued their liues, as Traitors to their countrey, and dishonorable to their parentes: Yea they were disgraced from all honour and imployment, marked by shauing of halfe their heades and beards, derided and disdained of all their countrimen, and lawfull for all men to abuse and beat them as seruiceable Slaues. These were the shames ordained for Fugitiues in those warlike Nations. Whereupon a King of theirs being demanded how it came to passe that the *Lacedemonians* so farre excelled all others in prowesse and armes? Because (quoth he) they are taught from their infancy not to feare death, but shame. As *Marinus* also that famous Romane General said of himselfe, hee had learned to feare nothing but *Infamy*. They therefore that by education in lawlesse warres grow so impudent as to vant of their foiles and flights (which by true Martiall lawes, especially in leaders and Commanders should bee noted and punished with perpetuall shame) are so farre off from true Souldiery, and Martial honor as they are fitter (like most dangerous contagious sheep) to be expelled & seuered in time, lest they infect with their leprosy the whole troupe & Military flock: howsoeuer the corruptions of this age & ignorace of the dangers y ensue by contempt of true Martial honor may excuse or delay their due punishmēt or shame for a time. For if a chief Commander shal neither blush to saue himself by flight, nor corruptly to make his gain by the death

of his poore Souldiers through Frauds, periury, and deceit in Musters: his readiest plot to grow rich and puiſſant is, presently so soone as hee can ſinger his ſouldiers pay, or Princes Treasure. To deuise ſome desperate vnfaiſible Seruice, where he may bring his *Fantry* to haue their throats cut, and then hauing choiſe horſes to ſaue himſelfe by flight, and his confederate Faworites with the pay of the dead, they may banquet and riot their fill, and haue ſo great Maſſes of Treasure to make friends, as none of theſe Tragedies can come to ynripping, if once is bee perſwaded lawfull or intollerable for a Generall or chiefe *Commaunders* to ſaue themſelues by flight.

But the ſolloration thereof and of theſe Fraudes and abuſes in Muſters, and the immeaſurable ſweete gaines that bad conſciences ſee they may make thereby (if they can alſo ſhake of ſhame, and extinguiſh true Martiall diſcipline) is the chiefſt abuſe of all baſe and diſhonorable corruptions, and will ſtill encrease ſuch impudency and inſolency as corrupt perſons by ſufferance will grow vnto: Which ought ſo much the more ſeuereſly and ſpeddily with the ſword of Juſtice and true *Militarie Lawes* in time to bee corrected, as the continuance doth make the diſeaſe more deſperate and pertilous to their State, and more hard to be recovered, when wealthie wickednes thereby getteth ſuch authoritie and purchaſeth ſuch parties, as after by Juſtice ſhall hardly bee ſuppreſſed, vneſſe the *Souereigne Maieſtie* or *Ephors* of the State in time I ſay miniſter the bitter Medicine, that onely muſt cure this peſtilent and contagious ſickneſſe.

For if *Demetria* of *Sparta* with her owne hands killed (for cowardize) her ſonne *Demetrius* as a degenerate Monſter not worthy to bee called a *Lacedemonian*: or to walk on the earth, being (as ſhe ſaid) a monument diſhonourable to his countrey and parents, and the like done by diuers other Ladies and worthy Women of that State to their owne children, for abandoning onely of their

Ranke,

Ranke, to saue their liues when they were forced with violence and Multitudes of their Enemies: What could these woorthy women haue done to such sonnes as premeditatedly before hand provided them horses of swift carrier to saue themselves, so soone as they shall finde any danger growing. Or if this fault of *Flying* or abandoning their Rank only hath beene in a priuate souldier so abhorred, as his owne Mother hath executed Martiall Iustice vpon him, with detestation of his cowardize as vnworthie to drinke of the Riuer *Eurotas*, or to beare the name of a *Lacedemonian*: How much more is the same to bee detested in a *Commander*, On whose error or cowardize the liues of so many as are vnder his charge dependeth, besides the dishonour of his Nation?

Or if that fault could receiue in that Martiall Nation no excuse, though they were enforced therto by the violence and Multitude of their enemies: How much more abominable is it in them that of purpose before hand are provided of their meanes to runne away and abandon those for whose safetie it were their duty to sacrifice their liues? And by leauing their souldiers to the butchery, to make their excessiue gaines by the payes of the dead and Robberie of their Prince and Countrey. If so many woorthie *Generals* both *Greekes* and *Romanes* (that full easily at sundry battailes might haue escaped and saued their owne liues) haue refused vtterly both horses and all other meanes offered them to saue themselves, and chosen rather (when all hope was past) to sacrifice their liues among their troupes, than to returne to yeeld a dishonorable account of the blood of their souldiers: How much more should wee abhorre such as not onely commit these base errors, but impudently also are not ashamed to make their vauntes thereof?

If *Manlius Torquatus* when his sonne was challenged by a chiefe *Commander* on the contrary side, (onely

because

because without leaue he did accept the particular *Com-
bate*, although hee had the *Victorie*, and strake of his E-
nemies head in fight of both Armies) would neuerthe-
lesse haue executed the Martiall law vpon his valiant Son
(Onely) because he brake one point of Martiall discipline:
What reward doo wee thinke this *Generall* would haue
bestowed on one of our shamelesse Fugitiues?

If this famous *Generall* so highly respected the honor
and safety of his countrey, as hee resolved to execute the
lawes Martiall of this his onely and most valiant sonne:
Not for any cowardize or corruption, but onely for want
of due obedience (in accepting without leaue the *Com-
bate*) choosing rather to deprive himselfe of his onely
sonne and incomparable Iewell, than the Martiall disci-
pline of his countrey should in the least point bee
corrupted. How much more hath the sacred *Maiesie* of
a *Prince* and honourable *Ephores* of any *State* cause with
seueritie in time to see due execution of Martiall Iustice
on such (as not moued by Magnanimitie or haucie cou-
rage, but contrariwise of a corrupt custome and base
minde, for lucre, pleasure, or ryot onely) commit
(premeditately) not one but many of those grosse and
shamfull abuses and breaches of true Martiall discipline:
That in those daies and States the most inferiour souldier
of an Armie for feare of perpetuall shame would not:
Faults I say so farre surmounting this error of the worthy
Maulius sonne, as the foulest leprosie or pestilent Feuer
doth the *Ephimeris* Ague, Tending indeed not onely to
the robbing of their Prince and publique Treasure, and
to the spoyle and betraying of their fellow souldiers
(Men many times of better valour and woorth farre
than such Leaders or superiour Commanders) but
also to the vtter ouerthrowe of all true Martiall va-
lour, and dishonour perpetuall of their Nation, and
smally tending to the vtter ruine of their Prince and
Countrey.

But

But to passe ouer infinite honorable *Precedents* of *Antiquitie*, to returne againe to our owne Age, I say, That euen by experience of the warres, and Nations of our owne time it is manifest, that these abuses and corruptions haue beene the verie ruine of the Realmes and States where they haue beene practized, as in time they will be also of all other that shall admit the continuance of them. And first for *France* that woorthy souldier Mounfier *de la Née* in the *Military Discourses* plainly sheweth, how with these ciuill warres these corruptions there began, and by what vnlawful Generation Mistresse *Picorea* was at *Boysenye* first begotten, which bastard in short time had such a Multitude of Seruants both in *France*, and after in the *Low-Countries*, as they created their mistresse a *Ladie*: And that mightie Ladie Madam *Picorea* hath now so many braue seruants, (not onely among the French and Dutch, but of other Nations also) as it is to bee feared they will make her a *Querno*, to the Ruine of all *Kings*, *Quernes* and *Realmes* that shall endure her, and not suppress in time both her, and her shamelesse presumptuous, lewde, licentious seruants.

What extreeme misery they haue within these thirtie yeares reduced all *France* vnto, wee see; What desolation in *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and other base countrey Provinces, by the Ruines remaining, is manifest. Shal wee suffer her and her followers also in our Nation, to see what they can likewise doo of *England*? *Abis omen*. But the French Prouerbe saith most truly;

Qui par son peril est Sage celuy, est Sage malherencx:
And, *Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*

He telleth of an honorable Executiō done by that worthy souldier the Armirall of *France* in hanging vp a Captaine & 5 or 6 other chief seruants of this basterdly lady *Picorea* adoring their gallows with their booties, which honorable
souldier

souldier (*Sbattillion* I meane) he commendeth highly to haue beene a most fit and meeete *Phisition* to cure this Maladie: For hee was (saith *La Née*) seuer and violent, neither could any Fauour or vaine friuolous excuses take place with him if the partie were faultie: Which is indeed the onely way to cure it, For it is most fond and vaine to imagine that eytther by verball perswasions , or printed Lawes or proclamations it is possible to cure this sore, but with armed Iustice some of the Ring-leaders must be seized and roughly chastized, to bring a terror vpon the rest. For if these mischiefes (saith that woorthy Souldier) were like to other crimes , where men (condemned by publike Sentence) are quietly content to bee led by the Executioner to receiue their due, they might full soone bee banished. But they fare more like a rough and restife horse, that (being touched with his Riders spurre) latheth, yerketh, and biteth, and therefore such a Iade must roughly and rigorously bee corrected and made to know his fault: For if yespere him or seeme to feare him, hee will sure vnhorse you , for generally these Militarie vices are presumptuous. And if they smel you feare them they will braue you: But giue them the terror of Lawes, and their due punishments seuerely, and so shall you cure their maladic. For most mercifull is that rigour, that (by dispatch of foure or fise) many saue the liues of so many hundreds, or rather thousands, and recure such a pestilent contagion as is able in time to subuert the most mightie Realmes and Monarchies. When yron is foully kankored, it is not inough to annoint it with oyle, but it must bee roughly and forcibly scoured and polished , to make it returne to his perfect brightnes. And if in *Pleurresies* and other like corrupt exulcerations wee haue no remedie but to open a veine, and content our selues to part with many drops of our blood to saue the whole bodie from destruction: So must we be content (though it were with the losse of many such corrupt persons) to

recure

recure our Militarie bodie from ytter confusion : Seeing thereupon dependeth the health or ruine also of the whole politique body of the Realme : For the *French* haue a true *Prouerbe*.

Le Medicin pitieux fait vne mortelle plaie
And most wisely the Poet.

Obsta principijs, sero Medicinaparatur,
Cum mala per longas inualuere moras.

As *France* and *Flanders* both our next Neighbours by their calamities may teach vs, where no kinde of abuse or corruptions haue beene practized: Their Bands not 40. for 100. strong. Which kinde of *Picoree* Mounsier de la Nôe termieth *Desrober enfalquin non pas engentilz homes*: But of gentlemen all picories ought indeed to be detested, as fitter for base minded slaues, than honourable free minded souldiers. But for other extortions and Robberies vpon the poore Payzants, Boocers, or husbandmen, it were as hard to name any one kinde that hath bene omitted, as to recite particularly euery sort that hath bene executed by these insatiable cormorants, whose maw is neuer full though their gourmandize be infinite, besides the defacing of so many goodly Churches and stately *Pallaces* in the countrey, as by the Remnants of their Ruines is to bee seene, and the Ranfacking of Villages, Castles, Townes and Cities, and infinite outrages otherwise committed in all places where this misbegotten Ladies seruants or filching followers could lay their gracelesse hands. But seeing the first pretext and colour they had in *France* to engender this monster, and since in the base countries to foster her, was by reason of want onely of conuenient pay: Which enforced euen the most famous *Generals* of our time (I meane the Prince of *Condé*, and the Prince of *Orange*) at the first to tollerate these cankers, which after wrought the very Ruine, of those

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Estates.

States. It is a singuler warning to King and Princes that haue Realmes to commaund, that not yet so farre corrupted, and able to yeelde maintenance for honest and right Martiall souldiers, by no meanes (for want of conuenient wages, stipend, and pay) to giue any colour or excuse to this degenerate bastardy kinde of Seruitors, or rather Pickers, to excuse their corrupt Artes, or Diuellish craftes and abuses.

And for their Subiects of all degrees rather to giue double and treble Subsidies yearely to continue an honourable pay, for maintenance of sober, valiant, painefull, honest, obedient souldiers in true Martiall discipline, than to become a praye to these mercilesse carrowfing, degenerate insatiable monsters. And it is to bee hoped the present King of *France* (if God blesse him with any obedience of his Subiects (as were to bee wished, and his constancie in Religion, and other Heroicall vertues meriteth) will no doubt by all due meanes in his Territories endeouour to procure a Reformation of these horrible disorders, which is yet vtterly inipossible for him to redresse, being in that state, by long continuance growne to a most difficile and hard cure.

But as the Estates of the vnited Prouinces (by meanes of such bad pay and collections of corruptions in their Martiall or rather mercenarie *Commanders*) did also for many yeares together continually lose by peacemeale a number of strong Fortes, Towers, and Prouinces in their possessions, being driuen almost on euery side downe into their Marches where they were enforced to implore her Maiesties present ayde to escape their impendent ruine: So, hauing of late (by honourable Example of her Maiesties Bands) well reformed that their base kinde of pay, and in part thereby also their other abuses (which of late yeares hath crept in among their E-

scmics

nemies) haue beene able to make head and recover againe, many of those important places that before they lost: Repaying thereby somewhat the fault of their former Errors.

Yet when I perswade to giue vnto all Colonels and such like chiefe Commaunders such Entertainment as may suffice them contentedly to liue, without seeking so much as (by tolleration or suffering of Frauds to enrich themselues, or to supply their wants. It is no part of my meaning to haue *Collonels* so commune, or such multitude of needlesse Officers, as in disorderly warres hath beene accustomed. For one *Collonell* or *Maestro del Campo* may very well suffice for three or foure thousand men, and the contrarie is but an abuse and embasing of that name which should not bee bestowed but on olde souldiers of iudgement and experience, able to discharge a place of that importance. And this Officer hauing (for himselfe, his *Martiall*, his *Serieant Maier*, and other necessary chiefe Officers of his Regiment) conuenient allowance to maintaine on honourable Table, the inferiour priuate Captaines may and ought to content themselues with meaner port till (by vertue and desert) they bee aduanced to higher place: And (abhorring all vanitie in apparrell, and wastefull expences in baser appetites) endeavour themselues by trauell, care, good Armes, and trayning of their companies (in right Martiall exercises and exploits in the Field vpon their Enemies) to make their value knowne, and by such *Aemulation* one to excell another, whereby they may bee chosen and aduanced to higher offices: The priuate Captaines place being indeede but the first steppe toward Martiall honour: And therefore not to bee accompanied with such pompe, as now is too too vsuall.

It may perhaps be replied. So long as men are content to accept these glorious names only (without any charge to

their Princes purses, or crauing any encrease of pay) it is a small matter to content phantasies with Feathers.

I answere, it it a matter of farre greater consequence than is conceiued : For, first it embaseth those degrees of honor which chiefly should allure right Martiall mindes, and makes them seeme vile, when they are so common as they fall to the the lot of persons vnworthy such degree, and so grow in contempt ; and not affected after by the true honourable mindes : Besides wanting maintenance for the due port of that place, they are enforced to bee patrons to all or many of those disorders and abuses before mentioned, vnlesse they would choose to vndoo themselves and friends to maintaine it otherwise, which fewe I thinke now a daies vse to doo.

Farther hauing once taken a greater name, they disdain euer after to serue in any inferiorr calling, fitter indeede for their Experience : And so become persons altogether vnprofitable, and to maintaine those glorious names enforced (by shift of braine) to trie conclusions : And so by all these meanes the cause of greater inconueniences.

I conclude therefore by all these reasons before alleaged, and the successe of plaine experience also (both of old time, and in our owne age) that as it is more honourable for the Prince, and most necessary for the aduancement of the Seruice, to haue all chiefe needefull Commaunders to haue such compleat Entertainment, as they may (without extortion or corruption in themselves, or alteration of abuses in others) maintaine their place with Reputation, and execute Martiall discipline with seuerity. So discharging their duties honorably and honestly they shal saue at least one third part of the royal or publike Treasure, and yet the forces (though not in shew of Ensignes to scare Dawes) yet in armed hands to conquer Enemies farre more strong and puiſſant than those multitudes of colors farced with Freebooters or other seely vnarmed Ghosts or disordered Mutinous persons

sons, that by licentious education will scarcely endure the paines of *Watch* and *Ward*, or abide the due execution of any true Martiall discipline. And as these superiour Gouvernours and Commaunders (doing their duties) are worthie of all reputation, credite, aduauncement, and honour: So contrariwise, after they haue conuenient entertainment, if they shall be found the Patrones or Pandars to such corruptions and abuses as tend to the ruine of all true discipline Militaire, I would wish them disgraced, and with all shame disarmed as vncapable euer after to their graue, of any true Martiall honour.

And for prooofe of this *Proposition* in all the chiefe officers also of an Armie, for a taste of the rest hauing chosen to treat of the *Martiall Censor*, or generall *Comptroller* of *Musters*.

I say there are of this kinde of Officers (as likewise of all others) two sorts: The one, honest, iust, fearing God, & respecting the honour, commoditie, and aduauncement of their Princes Seruice. The other, neither iust, nor honest, nor possessed with any Feare or Reuerence of God: but (ayming onely at fauour, wealth, and aduauncement in this corrupt world) care not what becomes of the Seruice, so they may by any meanes enrich themselues, and purchase friends to backe them in all their vn honest proceedings. But more briefly or plainly to set forth the different or repugnant pathes of these two sorts of

Officers, I cannot better than by these

Briefe Conferences of the *Good*
and *Bad* ensuing.

A conference of a Good
and Bad Muster-maister, with his
inferiour Commissaries of Musters, by
the fruites to discerne
the Tree.

The Good.

The Bad.

THis Officer will not wil- This Officer careth not
lingly serue, but with such howe little Entertainment
a competent & conuenient en- certaine hee haue for him-
ertainment both for himselfe selfe or his Substitutes: pre-
and for his inferiour Com- suming hee can make what
missaries, Clerkes, and Substi- gaine hee list of his Office:
tutes, as hee needs not take & make such Friends there-
Bribe or Beneuolence, or de- by also, as may beare him
pend on the fauour of any, but out of his lewdnes. &c.
the Generall alone.

This Officer will bee in his Such an Officer hauing so
Expences temperate, rather good meanes to get im-
sparring than wasting: that hee measurable by playing the
bee not by want enforced to good-fellowe, wil spend in
straine his conscience, and de- finitely, especially in kee-
ceane his Prince. ping company with such as
must ioyne with him in de-
ceauing the Prince.

This Officer seeketh by all Such an Officer can no
meanes to cause the Generall more abide Lawes and Or-
to establish Lawes and Ord- dinances in Musters, than
nances, whereby orderly En- lucrous Captaine, saying, It
trances and discharges of Soul- barreth the Officer of his
diers may bee registred, and discretion, whereby the Of-
thereby neither the Prince, nor fice ought to be directed, &
the Souldier abused. braue men gratified.

This

This Officer delivereth these Lawes to his inferiour Commissioners with other strait particular Instructions, and calletb them to account how they haue discharged their Duties.

This Officer will not set down any penny check certaine vpon any Captaine or Band without apparant prooffe: and for such as cannot bee decided, wil respite them to farther triall, That neither Prince, Captaine, nor Souldier be defrauded or iniured.

This officer if any such doubt arise in the Checques as hee cannot determine by the Lawes established, hee either desireth the Resolution of the General, or that it may bee determined by a Counsell at warre, or some Commissioners, especiallie authorized to assist him.

This Officer (if the Captains shew any reasonable cause to be relieved out of the Checques, either in respect of the losse of horse, or armour in Service, or such like that deserueth consideration) hee presenteth his proofes thereof, together with his checke to the Lo: Generall, desiring his Lordship to haue honourable consideration thereof.

Such an Officer likes none of these strict Courses, saying, Among Martiall men a man must play the good-Fellowe, and not to be too pinching of a Princes purse.

Such an officer calleth this Examination nice Curiositie, and sayeth, So there bee some Checques for fashion sake it is no matter: make them little enough that the Captaines be not angry, and all is well. One good-fellowe must pleasure another.

Such an Officer saith, It is great folly to loose that prerogatiue of his Office, to resolve these doubts as he sees cause; And to subiect him selfe to Commissioner that is Maister of the Musters himselfe.

Such an Officer will bee Chancellor himselfe, & neuer trouble the Lord Generall with these matters, who hath matters of greater importance to thinke vpon: saying, Princes purses may not be spared, & braue men must be rewarded, & Officers must get loue & honor by dealing bountifully.

This

32 The Good.

This Officer (if hee see neuer much familiaritie betwene any of his Commissaries and Captaines) is presently jealous of them, and calleth them to account: And if hee finde them commient or faultie, presently displaceth them, or if hee finde no other prooffe but vehement suspicion, yet remoueth them to another Garrison, and placeth such other in their roomes, as may sift and examine their former bebauiour.

This Officer, as hee would not (to gaine a Million) doo any Captaine a pennie wrong, so will be not for the fauour of the greatest persons in the Armie, or his neereſt kinne or friends ſtaine his conſcience to abuſe his Prince one pennie: and therfore preſents the Checque truly as he findes it, and leaues all fauour to be ſhewed by the Lord Generall onely.

This Officer procureth orders alſo to be eſtabliſhed for trayning of the Souldiers, and

The Bad.

Such an Officer likes none of theſe ſeuere Iealouſies, but liketh well ſuch Officers as be plauſible and gratefull to the Captaines, knowing the Captaines bee liberall, and will not be vngratefull to him, ſeeing hee mindes and hath good meanes to requite their curteſie tenne folde out of the Princes purſe.

Such an Officer, being of another molde, will none of theſe melancholie courſes: hee will pleaſure his Friends, and croſſe his Enemies, and make them know he is an Officer can pleaſe or diſpleaſe the: but diſpleaſe he will not for all that, and for his excuſe alledgeth that Princes Cookes may giue a good fellowe a piece of Beefe, and the Butlers or Cellarers a cup of Wine or Beere, and that he wil ſhew his Friends a caſt of his Office,

Such an Officer will none of this, ſaying, it is but a turmoyling of Captaines and Souldiers,

The good.

himselfe requireth the Capitaines to performe them: And to encourage men to doo well, will not spare out of his owne purse to giue rewards to such souldiers as by prooffe bee findes the best mark-men.

This Officer will not accept penny nor penni-worth of any Capitaine, or Souldier, more, than the fee due to his Office, and that not as a beneuolence secretly, but as his due openly.

This Officer reposing himselfe onely on GOD and his cleere conscience, laboreth not to make other friends but his Prince and Generall: And for the Generall himselfe will not straine his conscience any way, though hee bee sure of many enemies and small backbiting, and euen so his Prince for faithfull seruice store of false backbitings: yea the Swanne must bee made a Crowe, and the Faulcon a Bussard.

The bad. 33

souldiers, and intruding on the Capitaines Offices to offend and discontent them, and that braue men should not be comptroled, or the imperfection of their souldiers discouered by such open exercises, and that such expences are foolish, and make more Enemies than friends.

Such an Officer wil accept anything money or ware, so it come secretly: and like a good-fellow will (on the Princes purse) requite it tenfold, as easly he may doo, and none but his fellowetheeues able to accuse him.

Such an Officer will not onely for the Generall, but for any other person of authority strain his conscience any way, and to all other Capitaines also so kinde and liberall of his Princeesse her Maiesties purse, as he is generally extolled for a braue man; An honorable Officer, an honorable minde, yea & his Prince also whom he deceiues horribly shalbe perswaded the Daw is an Eagle, & the Cuckie a Nightingale.

E

This

*This Officer as hee is thus pre-
cise himselfe as neyther to giue
penny for such an Office, nor
to receiue Bribe or Benemo-
lence more than due fees : So
maketh hee a matter of consci-
ence whilest hee carrieth such
office to giue to any of his ho-
nourable friendes any present,
lest they or others should haue
cause to suspect, hee did it to
bee borne-out in any lawde
Action.*

Such an Officer hath no
melancholy conceipt, but as
hee will take lastly, so will
hee giue frankly to the that
cā beare him out: and such a
one as Captains, Collonels,
great Officers and all shall
extoll, how shall his Prince
but like of too, considering
the more he robs, the more
friends he maketh, & the more
he shalbe praised : So as if
there were no God, the ho-
nest were indeede to be beg-
ged for a right natural foole.

But this Conference of either kinde I hope it appea-
reth plainly both how many Enemies the honest must of
necessitie in this age of Militarie corruptions drawe
vpon him: And likewise how great a multitude of friends
the vn honest may make by their confederacy with others
of that humor in robbing of the Prince or publique Trea-
sure: And therefore how necessarie it is that aswell the
honest bee honoured with Entertainment and mainte-
nance answerable to their reputation and credit of their
place, as the contrarie well sifted and extraordinarily pu-
nished in terror of abuse.

But as it is apparantly best for the honor of any Prince
or State to haue this honest office so backed with honou-
rable Entertainment & authority as he may boldly with-
out feare or regard of any offence controll fraud, there-
by to enforce all Captains to keep their Bands compleat,
or dul to checke their defaults aswell for Armes as men:
So is it also as much for the profit & benefit of the king
Prince, or State (in respect of the sauing of their Treasure,
which no way in the world shall bee so extremely
and vnprofitably wasted, as by the ignorance, confede-
racie

racie or abuses of these Officers, if they be vnskilful, base-minded or dishonest: As none can better testifie (if they wil truly confesse their errors) than the States of the Low-Countries, who I think haue had full expeeriēce of the extreme mischief ensuing by employemēt of base cōmissaries with poore wages, in place of so great trust & importāce.

But somewhat to say of our own Nation, omitting theirs, I think there is no indifferent person but will confesse, That in the Earle of *Leycesters* time of Gouvernment, the English Bands generally in the *Queens* pay (a very few excepted) were maintained euer farre stranger than eyther before or since, and great reason it should be so: For as neither her Maiestie, nor any Prince of *Europe* euer paid more iustly and honorably than in his time, hauing euery foure or six moneths at farthest till the last, a full pay: So was there also so facile & easie meanes for all Captains in her M. pay frō time to time thēstil to supply & Reinforce their Bands without the Captains charges, as neuer was neither before nor since. For besides the 40. Footbdās & 10 Cornets of horse (by contract in her Ma. pay) there was euer at the charge of the countrey also many other English Ensignes all the Earle of *Leicesters* time, somewhile 20, sometime fortie, and sometime 70, Ensignes at a time, which being by the States as extreme badly paid then, as the *Queenes* Maiesties were honorably & well: Any English souldier that could get out of their Bands into the Ensignes of her Maiestie thought themselues aduanced from Hel to Heauen. Hereof it came to passe that all the Earle of *Leicesters* time the Captains in her Maiesties pay needed not to send into England for souldiers at great charge, for their leuying, arming, & transporting to supply their Bands as since they haue: but continually Suite was made vnto thē by souldiers of this ill paid voluntary Bands to be receiued into the *Queenes* Maiesties pay: For those soldiers would rather frely forgiue their own pay to their Captains, thā tary in the States pay, if they could obtain a place in any of her Ma: Bands: And so the Captains

of her Maiesties Bands (without any charge at all) had meanes then still to maintaine and keepe their Ensignes compleat, which (neither before nor since) they euer could (without their charges in sending for and transporting of new souldiers out of England) for the which they can haue no allowance but vpon speciall petition to her Maiestie.

Farther the Earle in his time of Gouvernment tooke such courses to make the Captaines keepe their Bandes strong, as neuer were before nor since. For at the first, finding many Bands of footemen left vnto him extream weake, not 60. souldiers in a Band of 150. and halfe a doozen such Bands at one Muster and one place: his Excellency gaue a generall day to all Captaines in her Maiesties List to haue their Bands reinforced strong, or else to be checked according to to their weaknes at the next future Muster: As they should likewise for his time receiue the benefit for the time past, not to bee checked, if they were found compleat, and strong for Seruice at that their appointed day.

This generally made them all, or the greatest part contend, who might Reinforce their Bands strongest.

Againe his Excellency (being both Gouvernour for the *States*, and *Generall* for her Maiestie) had the commaundement of both forces, and thereby caused Musters Generall in his time to bee alwaies made of all souldiers in euery Garrison at one instant: Whereby the souldiers in the States pay could not fraudulently bee lent or borrowed to fill the Queenes Bands at Musters, as otherwise they might haue doone.

There was also such Ordinances for Musters established by his Excellency as neuer the like in those Prouinces (or better in any other) can be shewed, to enforce the Captaines that for feare of due checke (if for their owne credit any Reputation otherwise they would not) to keep their Bands compleat: By which Precedents the States haue

haue since much reformed their *Militia*.

And with all so honourable Entertainment allowed the Muster-Master General at that time, as (if he would haue but winked willingly at corruptions) he had beene worthie of all shame and blame : Who thereby (hauing conuenient meanes, carrying a seuer hand (according to his dutie) to execute his office iustly, was so maligned of the licentious sort of Captaines, as they would vow to keepe their Bands more than compleat, rather than he should haue a penny checke out of their Bands toward his Entertainment,

The honest therefore and honourable (for their owne commendation) and the licentious and malignant (for feare of checke and enuie against the Muster-Master) contend all, who might keepe their Bands fairest.

And yet I thinke there will bee found more checks certaine, notwithstanding in the Earles gouernment five-folde for respectiue time, than other before or after ; When the Bands were farre weaker, besides the checks respited to farther Examination, which would haue amounted vnto much more, if by conning practises they had not procured his disgrace.

But as the bestowing some time of a thousand or two thousand pounds a yeare on the maintaineing of *Sluces* and *Milles* for the drayning of Marshes, may in some *Leuelles* by clearing of the waters encrease their goodnesse & value of their grounds twentie thousand pounds a yeare to be bestowed on these necessarie Engines may leaue them so insufficient as they shall not bee able to drayne the waters. And thereby the whole leuell of Marshes improfitable, or many score thousand of pounds in their value yearely lost. So fareth it in the due maintenance of these important Officers in causes Militarie.

The Like I say of the Marshall and *Serient-Generall*, and many other, who if they haue wil and skil to execute

their duties without regard of offence to the bad and licentious in matter of Iustice, and vse their office as they ought, to aduance the profit and seruice of the Prince (which without compotent and honourable Entertainment is not to bee expected) they may not onely be able ten-folde in the aduancement of the Seruice to deserue their wages, but euen (in sauing of Treasure) requite it ten-folde also.

And therefore soundly may conclude, That neither the sparing of Seede by the fond *Husbandman*, nor the pinching of pence before mentioned by the miserable *Merchant*, in the rigging and furnishing of his Ship, Nor want of due allowance for *Drayning* of Marshes by conuenient Engines is halfe so fond and absurd, as the omitting of such necessarie Officers in *Martiall causes*, Or the sparing of such Entertainment as should enable them to discharge their offices iustly and honourably, That by corrupt and lucrous pettie companions may be managed to the extreme Robbing of the Prince, and confusion of all true Martiall discipline. For euen as in this office of *Censur* or *Comptroller-Generall* of Musters a corrupt person may with farre greater gaine giue his Prince two thousand pounds a yeare to farme that Office thā an honest officer can take two thousand pounds yearly Entertainment for him and his Substitutes faithfully to discharge it: So shall the 2000. pounds giuen by the Prince to such a one, bee ten-folde more gainfull and beneficiall to his Seruice, than the 2000. pounds taken: Which by due consideration of the frauds and deceipts practized, and by mee at large in a particular Treatise thereof already reuealed, And hy the very triall or experiences already made (duely weighed) will euidently appeare.

And therefore may truly say, that as well for the profit of all Princes and States, as for the honour and aduancement of the seruice, it is fit this Officer (as likewise all other Officers or Commaunders of like importance and necessitie)

necessitie) should haue such conuenient Entertainement for the Reputation of their place, as they may (without feare or regard of any) sincerely censure and controll all deceits and abuses, by whom soeuer they finde then bolstered or patronized. And hauing indeed such allowance as the Reputation of their place requireth, if any such be found (for any respect) to become partie or pander of such corruptions and Robberies, whereby the Royall Treasure should bee vnduly wasted, the forces enfeabled and Martiall discipline corrupted *Tanquam reum lese Maiestatis*, I would haue such a one Exemplarly to bee corrected with all blame and shame.

And for a finall conclusion of this true *Paradox* may confidently confirme. *That the most thrifte, and sparing course that any Prince or State can take to continue a warre, (without wasting of their treasure, or over-burdening of their Subiects with intollerable Taxes) is still to allow all necessary Commanders, Officers, Captaines, and Souldiers such conuenient, large, and sufficient Entertainement, as men of true value and honestie may indeed rest therewith contented: And then to execute seuerer Martiall Discipline on all frauds, Robberies, and Extorsions, without respect of Persons.*

The



The second Paradox.

That the Antique Romane and Grecian discipline Martiall doth farre exceede in Excellency our Moderne, notwithstanding all alterations by reason of that late invention of Artillerie, or fire-shott. And that (vnlesse wee reforme such corruptions as are growne into our Moderne Militia, utterly repugnant to the Ancient) wee shall in time loose utterly the renowne and honour of our Nation, as all other also that haue or shall commit or tolerate like errors.



Hereas among many Captaines and Commaunders of the newe *Moderne Martiall Discipline*, it is maintained for a *Maxime*: That all ancient *Romane* or *Grecian* Militarie Lawes and Orders of the Field (aswell for Gouvernment, as trayning of their Souldiers) are for the warres of our age meere Mockeries, and that the fury of the Ordinance and other rare. Inuentions of our time is such, as hath enforced a necessarie change of Discipline and Order in all those matters: I thinke it fit to open the Error and absurditie of this opinion, held eyther of such as of ignorance discommend
that

that they neuer vnderstood, or vnadvisedly are miscaried with the authoritie of others, or of malicious subtilty seeke to aduance such opinions, as may reduce all Marti- all Actions to a turbulent confusion, whereby such corrupt, base minded persons (as seeke the warres for gaine) may excessiuely enrich themselves, euen with the ruine of their countrey.

I therefore to the contrarie auerre : That neither the furie of Ordinance, nor any other like inuentions of this our age, hath or can worke any such alteration : But that the auncient discipline of the *Romane* and Martiall *Gracian* States, (euen for our time) are rare and singular *Præcedents*. And that many such custonies as wee haue taken vp (contrarie to those honorable and right Martiall *Præcedents*) will worke our vtter shame and confusion, if we should encounter with such warlike Troops and souldiers as their discipline then bred : And yet not impossible but facile for any King in his owne Realme (especially of our Nation) by those ancient *Præcedents* to select and frame a *Militia* as farre surmounting in value vulgar Moderne as the *Lacedemonian*, the *Macedonian*, or any other *Gracian* did the effeminate *Persian*, who in sundrie battailes haue vanquished them when in number they were double, treble, yea manifold the greater, and in wealth and riches farre exceeding. And to enter into the opening of this truth (so much repugnant to the conceipt generally receiued of the greater multitude professing Armes) First I say, That like as in all other Artes and Sciences it is a matter of verie great importance to haue sure grounds and true Principles without abuse or error. So in this Art Military (whereupon dependeth not onely the liues of so great multitudes, but also the defence or ruine of the greatest Realmes & Monarchies) it were to be wished that men were not to be misled with such false and fraudulent opinions as may bring-forth fruits most poysonous and perrilous.

Seeing therefore by the ciuill warres which haue risen in this our age, diuers disorders haue sprung vp, and for want of abilitie to make due pay to souldiers, the *Generals* and chiefe *Commanders* to haue beene enforced to tollerate many abuses which in time haue growne vsuall, and by vse of some disciples (bred in such lawlesse discentions) not onely learned and practised, but peruerse-ly maintained to bee not onely tollerable, but also laudable, yea farre excelling the auncient discipline of the *Romane* and *Greeke* Armies.

This error because it tendeth to the aduancing of vice: and defacing of vertue, to the extolling of many corrupt new practised abuses and licentious delicacies, and the reiecting or contemning of the sober painefull, strict, seuerer, and sacred Militarie discipline of the *Antiquitie*. I thinke it fit to touch some principall points, wherein the Moderne *Militia* (which I reprocue) doth dissent from the *Antiquitie* (which I commend) and propone as a *Precedent* for vs to imitate: That any Souldier of iudgement (not caried wilfully with corrupt affection) may see, how farre awrie they are, that so much extoll the one, or disdainefully contemne the other.

But first (lest I bee misconceiued) I must explaine a little farther, My meaning not to bee precisely to binde our Nation, or any other, to the same very Rules or Lawes which the *Romanes* or any *Gracian* State was ruled by, which most florished in Martiall prowesse. I thinke the same as great an error as that of some *Dimines*, who would haue all Nations ruled by the verie same politique Lawes and paynes that *Moses* prescribed to the *Jewes* or people of *Israell*. For albeit those diuine Lawes were prescribed by the infinite wisdom of GOD himselfe, and for those people (no doubt) the most conuenient, yet, as times, and States, and dispositions of Nations are variable and different, So
may

may the paines or punishments bee made more seuer
or remisse, as the Magistrates and choise members of
each State, (assembling as Physitions to cure the ma-
ladies growing in the bodie of their Realmes) shall
finde conuenient : So as they make nothing Lawfull
that is by Lawes Diuine prohibited, for that were
flat impietic. So say I also, there is in the discipline
Militarie of those Martiall States-antique, many things,
which (according to the nature and disposition of our
people) wee may mitigate or encrease, alter or ac-
commodate. But the dissent in the verie chiefe grounds
and principall *Axiomes* of the Art Martiall (as such
men of warre of the new Discipline doo) I holde it
a daungerous error, and fit to bee effectually regar-
ded, and speedily reformed. Neyther is it any part
of my meaning, and to taxe or reprooue all *Gene-
rals*, *Commaunders*, *Collonels* or *Captaines* that serue in
these our Moderne warres, as men corrupted or depra-
ued with these erronious opinions. For my selfe in
mine owne experience haue knowne many, that high-
ly esteeme the auncient and true Martiall Discipline,
and condemne as much the intollerable abuses that
haue growne in by the late intestine & ciuill discentions.

As in *France*, how much that worthie Prince of
Condé and Admirall *Shatillon* abhorred those disor-
ders which in their time began (and are since growne
to their ripenesse or rather full Rottenesse) may partly
appeare by their Campe-Lawes, sauouring altogether of
the Antique true Martiall Discipline, as farre forth as
the corruptions of this age, and their wantes to pay
their Troopes would permit. As by that I haue at-
large set-downe in my *Stratagickes* touching their Mi-
litarielawes, more manifestly will appeare. Likewise
in the Militarie *Treatise* of that famous Generall, *Gul-
lame de Bellay Seignior le Langé* of *Discipline Mili-
tary*, more euidently dooth appeare : Howe much

hee disliked also of the corrupt customes in his time, growne into the warres of *France*, and how hee laboured to reduce it to the perfection of those auncient Martiall States, that for many hundred yeares together (hauing made that Art and profession, and thereby mightily aduanced their Realmes in *Fame*, honour, and wealth, and also encreased their Territories) had indeed attained to the high perfection thereof.

How much also that famous Prince of *Orange* disliked with these moderne abuses (albeit for want of meanes to pay, and also authoritie sufficient to gouerne as hee would, hee were enforced to tollerate in his Mercenary Commaunders many of those corruptions) my selfe know by that I haue diuerse times heard, euen from his owne mouth, besides that appeareth otherwise by his *Remonstrances* and Military *Ordinances*. The like I could say of many of our owne Nation, Men of honour, experience and value, that both know and acknowledge how necessarie it were to haue a Reformation of Moderne abuses, and Restitution of true Martiall discipline, but are loath to make themselves odious to such multitudes, as (hauing beene bred-up in those base, easie, corrupt lucrous customes) would extremely hate such a Gouvernour, or Commaunder as should crosse their profit, and in his owne Regiment first with seueritie begin such Reformation: Which is indeed not to bee performed but by the authoritie and Maiestie of a Prince and Royall State, that is able both to pay and punish.

So farre am I therefore from condemning all Commaunders of this age, eyther of our owne Nation or theirs, for *Patrones* of these Moderne corruptions and basterdly degenerate Souldierie, as cleane contrariwise in mine owne experience and knowledge I can cleare many: Hauing my selfe knowne and conferred with diuers of our owne Nation that as much abhorre them, as
that

that famous souldier of *France Monsieur de la Nöe*, whom I haue my selfe also heard, aswel in his priuate speeches, as since in his Military discourses discouer his extreme dislike of such our modern vnsouldierly corruptions, which neuerthelesse my selfe saw hee was in part inforced to tolerate, euen then, when hee was *Martiall* of that mighty Armie by the *States* leuied against *Don Iohn de Austria*, and the Prince of *Parma* in *Brabant* vtterly against his will and liking. I can therefore the lesse blame any such of our Nation, as beare for a time with these errors, when they see (by contending for redresse without sufficient authoritie) they shall little preuaile, and yet make themselues extreme odious. But for such as will not onely tolerate, but (of purpose to make profit by them) will impudently maintain their moderne costomes good, and better for this age, than the *Auncient*, As I know them most hurtfull members, So I cannot but wish such bad *Patriotts* reformed by better reason, or in time reiect-ed as infected sheepe, that are able with their leprosie and infection to corrupt great multitudes, to the excessive danger of their *Prince* and *State*.

First therefore to shew some principall points, wherein the *Moderne Militia* I speake of, dissenteth from the *Ancient* by mee commended, I say.

1 It was a very laudable custom of *Antiquity* to haue in their *States* or Realmes *Cöscriptos milites* their chosen enrolled souldiers, not of y base, loose, abiect, ynhoneft sort, by *Cornelius Tacitus* wel termed *Purgamenta urbium suarum*, but of the honest, well-bred, and renowned *Burgbers* and other country Inhabitants that had some liuing, Art, or trade to liue vpon when the warres were finished, as well to haue them practized and trained in all Martial exercises before they came to deale with their Enemies: As also that hauing somewhat to loose, they more dutifully and obediently behaue themselues during the Seruice. And hauing whereupon to liue when the warres

might

were done, neede not commit such Pickories, extorsions, and Outrages, as the common crew of such Caterpillers and Vermine doo: As, (hauing nothing at home to loose, or Art to liue,) seeke the warres onely (like Free-booters) for rauine and spoile.

2 I say, it was also a commendable custome in those *States* and common-weales to choose Captaines and Commaunders of credit and account in their Countreies, Cities, or Townes, that might traine and exercise neighbours in all Martiall and Militarie Exercises at home, before they led them to the warres: whereby the very children in those States (only by looking on) knew farre better both the vse of euerie sort of weapon, and how to march and raunge themselves into any forme of battell, yea, how to defend themselves (like souldiers) from euery kinde of charge or assault of their Enemies, farre better I say than many of our braue men that haue haunted such licentious warres or pickories many a yeare.

3 I say also that it was a commendable course to make such choise of Captaines in those *Antique* warres (as being men of Reputation of the same countrey or Citie from whence their souldiers were leuied, might haue the greater care to performe their duties towards their countermen and neighbours, among whom they should liue at their returne from the warres, and thereby receiue euer after vnto their death from them and their friends, eyther conuenient praise and loue, or infamie and hatred as their Gouvernement had merited) So in these daies that the Captaines are become not onely the leaders, but also the *Pagadores* or Pay-Masters of their Bandes, there is greater cause to haue them chosen not onely of skill and reputation, but also of abilitie to aunswere an accompt of such Treasure as shall come to their handes, for the payment of their souldiers:

Seeing

Seeing otherwise (if they bee base-minded corrupt persons) they may full easily wrong, starue, and waste their Souldiers many waies, to make their owne profit by their death and consumption of their Band, especially where fraudes in Musters by lewde custome shall also growe tollerable. For if any such Captaines bee chosen as eyther haue nothing of their owne at home to liue vpon, or neuer meane to turne into the Countrey, whereas the Souldiers were leuied, to receiue from them and their friendes the honour or infamy, the loue or hatred that their behauiour hath merited what hope is there that such a one will leaue the excessiue sweete gain hee may make by the fleeing or rather slaying of his flocke, and not (according to the Moderne Discipline) scrape and rake-in what hee may to liue afterward: hauing neither land liuing, nor Art otherwise to maintaine himselfe when the warres are done.

4 Likewise where Captaines were rightly chosen of such Reputation and credit as is before repeated, that they had a speciall care in health and sickness to prouide things necessarie to preserve the liues of their Souldiers (being their Tenaunts or Neighbours, that euer after to their death would honour and loue them for it, and the kindred and friends of those Souldiers also, whensoever it came to any fight with the Enemie, they were euer most assured and faithfull to such Leaders, and they likewise to them. In such sort as it was almost impossible to breake such a knot of vnited mindes: but being otherwise leuied (as too too commonly in our Moderne warres hath beene accustomed, where the Captaine neither knowes his Souldiers, nor the Souldiers their Captain before the Seruice, nor euer meane to meeete againe when the warres are ended) As the loue is small betweene them, So is their fidelitie and confidence much lesse. And as the
Captaine

Captaine taketh small care to prouide for them eyther in health or sicknesse for any necessities to preserue liues, So haue as smal deuotion to aduenture their liues for him or his honour (to whom indeed the chiefe reputation of their goodseruice alwaies should redound) But rather in all Encounters with the Enemie, how to make shift by flight to saue their liues. If then these kinde of Captains also (very prouidently foreseeing the worst which is likely to happen) will not bee vnprouided of a beast, to run-away, trusting rather to the legs of his horse than to all the hands in his Band: What can bee conceiued? But that heereof chiefly it comes to passe, that in these moderne warres wee heare of so many violent Retraits, (For so in their new discipline they terme that which in the olde warres was called shamefull flight) I meane when the Captaine and some of his Officers spur-away on horsebacke, and the rest throwe away both armour and weapons to leape ditches the more lightly, and are shamfully slaine without resistance: and many times by multitudes (pressing to get boats) do drowne themselves. Now whether such accidents bee too visuall or no, I referre it to their owne consciences that most boldly will commend this base moderne discipline. And if it be true whether there bee any more likely cause thereof than the diffidence before recited betweene the Captaine and his souldiers, and the want of shame (which in the Antique Souldiery was euer accounted the highest vertue) But now by depraued custome in our licentious degenerate warres vtterly lost and abandoned: and such accounted brauest men that are become of all others the most impudent.

I say also it was a most honorable order to haue it punished with great shame in any souldier to lose or throw-away his Armes, being held among the *Gracians* a perpetuall disgrace for any priuate souldier so much as to loose his Target. But if now both Captaines and some
chiefe

chiefe Commaunders also of the Moderne new *Militia* will bee much offended to haue any of their Band so much as checked by the Censor or Muster-Master for lacke of his Curates or Caske. And to encourage either to leaue their Armes, wil seldome themselues euer weare any, but take it for a great brauerie and Magnanimitie in Seruice to bee seene vnarmed. What shall I say but that indeed (for them that neuer meane to fight, but to escape by flight) to bee the lighter for a swift carrier, it is a verie politique inuention and a gainfull Discipline.

6 It was also an honourable course of Antiquitie (besides the choise of the Captaines of such credit in their Townes & Countries at their entring also into Seruice) to binde them and their Souldiers all with a sacred solemne Militarie oath, being holden no better than a thiefe or Free-booter that followed the warres, vnlesse hee were enrolled vnder some Ensigne, and had receiued his Militare oath, whereby hee vowed both obedience and fidelitie, and rather to die than dishonourably to abandon his Leader and Ensigne.

But in such new Discipline these ceremonies are scoffed at, and Captaines chosen futable to their loose depraued Soulderie,

7 It was also a laudable custome to haue the Captaine cary his own Armes in his Ensigne, besides the Ensignes of the Regiments which were among the Romans alway *Eagles*. And that hee that lost his Ensigne should bee held a disgraced man, not fit to carrie Armes till hee had wonne like honour againe.

But now in our new *Militia* in stead of Ensignes we haue learned to carry colours, because many Captaines perhaps are yet to winne their Armes, and thereby make small account to loose their Maisters colours, which may bee one cause (among many other) that the *Spaniard* within these 20 or 30 yeares can make his vant of the taking

taking of more English Ensignes, than I thinke they could truly these 500 yeares before.

8 It was also a most laudable Discipline, wherby men from their infancy were taught in those Martiall Schooles rather resolutely in the Field to die, than to saue their liues by flight, the Mothers detesting and abhorring their owne children that saued their liues by flying: yea and some with their owne hands doing execution on such children of their own as were Fugitiues, rather than they would haue so dishonourable a Monument (as they said) to their parents and country to walke vpon the earth.

But if in our Moderne *Militia* this error bee thought so small, as many such braue men will among their cups vsually vaunt thereof, and recount at how many places they haue fled and runne away: Taking as it were a glory to tell who had fled fastest, the chaunge is ouer great.

As in the ancient Martiall States it was (euen in a priuate souldier) held a perpetuall shame to haue runne away, or so much as onely abandoned his Ranke wherein hee was placed (vnlesse it were to step forward into the place of his precedent fellow slaine) So in a Captaine or Superiour Commander it is much more dishonorable and shamefull: Which hath caused many famous Generals (that full easily might haue escaped & saued themselves) vtterly to refuse horses offered, and all other meanes to flye, and haue voluntarily sacrificed themselves with their souldiers.

But if in our new *Militia* many braue souldiers (as they are tearmed by their owne crewe) will not shame to vaunt: In how many places they haue escaped by flight (belike of Zeale to fight againe for their countrey) the change indeed is great.

10 In the *Antique Militia* it was a shame for a Leader or Commaander of footmen to bee seene mounted on
any

any horse of service, but eyther a soote, or for his ease (being wearied) on some small Nagge, which no man could suspect was any way reserved to escape by flight,

But if in such Moderne *Militia* ye shall haue both Capitaines and Collonels on horses of swift carrier mounted, and brauely leading their men euen to the place of Butcherie, and then to take their leaue (vnder pretence to fetch supplies) The Discipline is greatly altered. And yet these shamelesse Fugitiues perhaps highly commending one another (when the valiant men that resolutely died in the place, by slaunderous inuentions shall be lewdly defaced) These Fugitiues I say may bee aduanced, and the valiant disgraced, or at least buried in obliuion.

11 In these *Antique Martiall* Commonweales they vsed to make *Statues* and *Epigrams* in their honour that resolutely died in the Field for the seruice of their countrey: and detested such base minded cowards as saved themselues by flight. But if contrariwise wee burie their names in obliuion that valiantly died in the field, and extoll Fugitiues, and thinke them not vnworthy of new charges: There is a great alteration indeed of Martiall Discipline.

12 In the auncient Martiall States and Monarchies, there were publike places of Exercise, where the youth (before they went to the warres) vsed to inure themselues to more heauie armes and weapons farre than the vsuall for seruice, making thereby their ordinarie Armes seeme light and easie to them.

But if such Patrones of the new Discipline scoffe at these painefull exercises (because they neyther trouble themselues nor the souldiers with the wearing of such Armes) it seemeth that as they of the *Antiquity* prepared themselues to fight and conquer. So these Moderne Commanders to escape and carowse with the dead paies of their slaine Souldiers.

13 The Antique Martiall discipline was to range their Souldiers into forme of battaile by due proportions of Rankes, teaching the succeeding Rankes (where any of the former were slaine) to reinforce their places maintaining their first Rankes still full with armed handes of fighting men in Martiall order.

But if such Ringleaders of the Moderne pudled discipline, as would haue all brought into a confusion, scoffe at such order & Ordinances, & say, there is no better way to make a battaile than aduance 4 pikes, & make their Souldiers runne in and fil them: And that all other *Arithmeticall* Rules (for speedie dispatch thereof) are vnfeazible toyes, because their owne skills will not reach it as a matter they neuer set their wits vpon. Whether they were fitter to fould sheepe, or embattell Souldiers I leaue it to the censure of honourable & right Martiall Commaunders.

14 The discipline was to reduce their Armies into sondrie *Battalions* and sundry seuerall *Fronts* whereby the General and his chiefe Officers and Collonels might orderly bring new succours to fight, and relieue such as were tired or weakned by slaughter, and so to renue many fights vpon the Enemy still with corragious fresh men till they had entier victorie. And for that cause had they so many Fronts and seuerall kinde of Commaunders, as *Turmarum Praefectos*, ouer their *Principes*, *Hastatos & Triarios*: *Tribunos Militum* also *Drungarios* or *Chiliarchas*, *Turmarchas* *Merarchas*, *Celerum Praefectos*, and many others as in my *Stratoticos* is set down more lagely for their *Fanterie* onely: Whereon those right Martiall Nations reposed their chiefeest trust, and yet no idle Leaders or Officers, but euerie one to so necessarie a purpose as they might not conueniently be spared.

But if such men of warre of the new Mould scoffe at all these Ordinances and Supplies, saying: A battell is
woon

woon and lost in the twinkling of an eye at the first ioyning, and therefore needlesse: Wee may indeede confesse it too true, where they bring their braue men like flocks of sheepe huddle confused to fight, or rather to flight: The battaile is many times indeed gotten before the crossing of pikes. The terror onely of Armes glistering is sufficient to scare such pilfering vnsouldierlike Freebooters.

15 The auncient discipline was euer to encampe their souldiers close together strongly, and so orderly to diuide their Quarters, and set downe their Regiments: As their campe was like a well fortified Towne, where ten-times so many Enemies durst not assault them.

But our new discipline, to lodge our Armie in *Villages* farre and wide a sunder, as euery Captaine may be provided most for his ease and commoditie like pettie Princes, and thereby in no place more easily defeated than in their owne lodgings.

16 The auncient Martiall men thought it not dishonourable with their owne hands to Entrench their Capms. And their great *Generals* would take the Shouell in hand themselves when occasion so required.

But our braue men of the new Discipline disdain to bee *Pioners*, and will rather lodge abroad in villages at their pleasure and ease like gallant fellowes, where they may take their pleasure, and carouse lustily.

17 The auncient Discipline reposed their chiefe confidence in their Panterie, whom they so trained, armed and ordered: As twentie or thirtie thousand footemen forced not of fife times so many horsemen.

But as our footmen of the new Discipline are armed and ordered, a thousand horse is able to defeat fife times as many such footmen. And yet might the footmen of our time carry weapons of farre greater aduantage against horse being well ordered, than were knowne in those daies. So great is the error of the Martial Discipline

of our age among such Leaders, as haue beene trayned-up in Freebooter warres, and haue vowed their seruice to their Ladie *Picorea*, being carelesse of any thing appertaining to Victory and Honour, respecting rather their owne priuate profit and commoditie.

18 The auncient Martiall Discipline tended chiefly to this scope, to carry such an Army to the Field, as boldly durst march on all grounds, as well Champion, as by Straights. And in Ordinance readie to fight with the Enemy by their exercise, order, and assurance, not doubting of victorie.

But the scope of such Moderne Discipline seemeth to bee rather to carrie men (so lightly armed and loosely disciplined) as they may bee nimble to stray abroad to picke and steale, and to escape by flight, when they are charged with any Enemy of force. And as for losse of Ensignes or shamefull flight, they make it a trifling matter, being readie to doe as much againe at any time.

19 The auncient Discipline would neuer suffer any souldiers to go abroad to spoile, but with Leaders and commaunders to direct and guide them: hauing intelligence before hand, which Quarters was best replenished with commodities needfull for the Army, and then sent such forces as might not faile to set it in, or honourably defend themselues if they were encountred.

But this new discipline will send their souldiers to spoile by handfuls, without Captaine, Lieutenant or Ensigne to guide them: if they get any *Pickorne*, the Captaine hath his share: But if their throats bee cut, the Captaine will haue their pay, aswell due before their death as after, by mustering them absent, &c, til the Muster-master discouer it. And whereas such a Captaine should bee disarmed, and by the Prouost hanged for such abuse: By this new Discipline hee will raile at the Muster-master lustely, if hee cheeke him onely the stolen pay.

20 The auncient true Martiall Discipline was, That all *Prayer* (so orderly in the warres take) should be brought to one place; where Magistrates and Officers of purpose appointed should dispose thereof for the Ransoming of prisoners, and the remounting of such as had their horses slaine in Service, and for reward aswell of those that made the Stand, as of those that fet in the pray.

But in our new Discipline it is *Catch who catch may*, and no order in the world for distribution of the pray for any publique vses, nor for redemption of prisoners, or remounting of such as in Service lost their horses.

21 The auncient Discipline was that no armed man on paine of death should step out of his Ranke in time of Service, to catch or spoile, which they easily obeyed, because by their Martiall Discipline then, they had as good reward out of the pray (that stood in battaile armed) as the loose men that brought it in.

But in our Moderne warres (where no such order is established, but *Catch who catch may*) there is nothing but confusion: Which cannot be but to their vtter ruine and shame. Whensoeuer such vnsouldierly Freebooters shall encounter with any Enemie of good government.

22 By the auncient Discipline (besides the reward of the souldiers which was left to the discretion of the Generall) there were ever great masses of Treasure brought home to the publique Treasurie to maintaine the future warres, and thereby no *Cesses* or *Subsidies* on the people for many yeares together, by reason of the treasure so saued and gained by their well disciplined warres.

But if by our Moderne Discipline of *Land Services* the Prince or State hath no benefit by the spoiles, but is riotously wasted among such Freebooters and their assotiates and the best souldiers least part of the pray, and by such

such disordered warre; no ceasing of *Taxes* or *Subsidies*, but continuāce or rather encrease of both, in al Realmes and States serued by such spoilers: It is easie to discerne which were the better Discipline for the Prince and people.

23 By such auncient Discipline *Kingdomes* and *States* by their warres haue encreased their wealth, and their Subiects haue growne more wealthie and mightie.

But by our Moderne warres both Prince and Subiects grow poore, & few of these vnruely vnsouldierlike Freebooters (how hugely soeuer they get by their corruptions or abuses) grow wealthie by it, for, *Badly gotten is euer commonly worse spent.*

24 The scope of the auncient Martiall Discipline was chiefly to preferue the publique Treasure of the cōtry, and to maintaine the warres on the treasure gotten by conquests on their Enemies.

But the scope of our Moderne Discipline seemeth to bee to enrich priuate Captaines and Commaunders, and to conuert both the spoiles & the wages of the souldiers also to their particular benefits. And so new *Taxes* and *Subsidies* of necessitie still on the people to maintaine the warres.

25 The auncient Generals and great Commanders had their chieftest care how to preferue their own people which caused them so carefully to arme them, traine the, and entrench them strongly, &c. saying the held it more honorable to saue one of their owne Souldiers than to destroy ten Enemies. As they likewise sought to make their Souldiers and Countrey wealthie, respecting nothing for themselves but the honour onely of well-doing.

But in our Moderne Discipline it seemeth, The more of their Souldiers are wasted and consumed, the richer grow such Commanders as by deceits in *Musters* haue the conscience to conuert all the dead payes to their own profit;

profit: Which wicked game of all other is most abhominable before God & perillous to any State: the strength and glory of a Prince onely consisting in the multitude and force of his people which are wasted and consumed by such Moathes and Caterpillers.

26 These auncient worthie Generals and Commaunders in the Field bent their wits and inuentions onely for such exploits as might be honourable and profitable to their countrey.

But if Commaunders of the new discipline deuise onely Exploits to waste and consume the Treasure of their Prince or State: And care not (to supply their owne prodigall Expences) though they spoyle their friends thereby, not onely doing their best to breake amitie and make more Enemies to their Prince and Countrey, but also commit such foolish spoiles as their Prince or State shall bee sure to repay again double and treble any commoditie or aide they receiued thereby. This abuse surely ought to bee amended.

27 In those auncient right Martiall States wee shall heare of Generals and Dictators (after they had deposed Kings conquered great Princes, and brought home to the Treasure of the countrey mightie masses of Gold & Siluer) were neuerthelesse content to returne home to their poore houses, no whit enriched in wealth, but only in honour, liuing soberly and temperately as before on their priuate patrimony, and scarcely a peece of Siluer plate to be seene in their own houses, that haue brought in millions to their State and Realme.

But if in our Moderne Discipline wee shall see pettie Commaunders (that neuer brought into their Princes Realme or State the hundred part of any such masses of Treasure, but rather haue had their share in wasting huge sums to little purpose) to abound in brauery, wast infinitely in all kinde of vanities, that I say no worse, And more Siluer dishes on their Table than *Quintus Dictator*

or *Scipio* that conquered *Hanniball* and razed *Carthage*: It seemeth these men serue themselves, as the other did their country.

28 Wee may read of *Romane Generals* that by conquering some Prouinces brought so great a masse of wealth to the publike Treasurie of *Rome*, that it ceased Taxes, Tributes, or Subsidies there for many yeares.

But if our Moderne *Militia* (cleane contrarie) doo still waste and consume the publike Treasure, and bee the cause not of ceasing, but rather of encreasing of Tributes or Subsidies on their country, the difference of Discipline indeed is great: But which were the better for the honour and commodity of our Prince and country, is easie by the wise, honest, and right honourable to bee discerned.

By the *Antient Discipline* little *Macedonie* conquered all the large and spacious Orientall Empire of the proud, rich, & populous *Persians*: And that smal Realme of *Rome* subdued so many Nations vnder their obedience in *Europe*, *Africke*, and *Asia*, and made Tributarie so many mightie Kings, as their Monarchie was of the whole world admired: And that their *discipline Militarie* was the chiefe or onely cause thereof: That famous *Romane* Emperour *Alexander Severus* in his Oration to his Souldiers declareth, saying,

*Disciplina Maiorum Rempub. tenet, qua si dilabatur,
Et nomen Romanum, & Imperium amittemus.*

If then not onely by the censure or prophesie of that famous Emperour, concerning, that State, but by verie experience also in our owne age of many others our Neighbours round about vs, wee may plainly beholde the successe of this corrupt degenerate Moderne *Militia*, so repugnant to the *Antient*: It were wilfull blindnesse not to discern which were the better. And no lesse

lesse negligence to permit the continuance of so dangerous a disease.

30 Wee shall also read of Generals in those warlike Common-weales, that so highly esteemed of the Martial Discipline of their Nation, and were so zealous therein, as they would not hane it violated in the least point. As *Marius Torquatus* that would haue executed his own sonne for encountering in particular combate with his Enemie without leaue, and before the Signall of battaile giuen; Albeit hee had the victorie and strake-of his enemies head in the sight of both Armies, to the great encouragement of the *Romanes*, and terroure of the contrarie side, that tooke that particular Encounter as *Ominous* for the successe of the battaile, as it fell indeed out, to the great honour of the *Romanes*, and vtter ruine of their Enemies. Yet after the victorie this honourable and famous Generall, considering the daunger that might haue fallen out if his sonne had not beene victorious, and that the discipline *Romane* was broken by this attempt (to fight without licence) hee would not spare it in his owne sonne, but commaunded the *Serius* to apprehend him, and (after hee had beene whipped with rods) to bee openly executed: wherein hee so constantly perseuered, as his whole *Victorious Armie* on their knees could scarcely obtaine his pardon. If then this breach of one point onely of Militarie obedience (committed of Magnanimitie and noble courage, and abundance of Zeale to his countrey) was in those daies so seuerely censured: As the father would not haue pardoned his owne sonne, notwithstanding by his happie successe also hee was the chiefeest cause of that honourable victorie.

What shall wee say of such Ring-leaders of corruptions in the new discipline, As shall not of any such Magnanimitie or haughtie courage or Zeale to their

countrey, but of a base, corrupt, and lucrous minde breake not one or two, but many points of Martiall Discipline, and therby not get victorie, but more than once or twice receiue those dishonourable foiles and disgraces, that for shame in those daies no priuate souldier would neuer returne home to abide the due shame and disgrace of. What can be said? But that it is high time to haue these important Errors looked into, least the same succeed heere, which in all other States haue done, where Martiall Discipline hath bene so neglected, and corruptions triumph vnpunished.

It were infinite to recite all the disorders of our *Moderne* warres, and would require a long Treatise to lay open all the commendable Ordinances, Customes, and prouisions of the famous *Gracian* and *Romane* Armies, whereby they honoured and immortalized their *Generals*, and amplified and enriched their States and Countries. But these few notes may suffice to shew how great a difference there is betweene the one and the other. Neither is it my meaning to call in question the doings of any particular persons, but onely to open the daungerous error of that opinion: That the loose customes of our time should be better than the *Ancient*: Or of such excellency as wee neede no reformation or amendment.

For I doubt not by due consideration of these few by mee recited it is manifest how great a difference there is betweene that *Ancient* Discipline (whereby meane and poore Estates were aduaced to mighty Monarchies) And these *Moderne* corruptions (whereby flourishing States haue bene spoyled and defaced, and mightie Realmes and Empires brought to ruine.)

But because some *Patrones* of these new corruptions (for defence of their bad cause) alleage: That the late famous inuention of *Great Artillerie* and *Fireshot*, vnknowne to the Antiquitie, and so farre surmounting all the

the Auncient Romane and Græcian Engines both in terror and effect) hath necessarily enforced so great an alteration of Armes, Weapons, and Militarie Order, as the discipline also must cleane chaunge: I thinke it fit to set downe some of their chiefe and principall Reasons.

1 First therefore (say they) it is now to small purpose to weare Armes, seeing the furie of the Fireshots is such, as no Armour is able to bolde it out.

2 It is vaine to make Battailles or Battalions in such order and forme ranked, as among the Græcians or Romanes were accustomed: Because the furie of the great Artillerie is such as it opposeth, breaketh and dissolueth all Orders or Ordinances that yee can imagine to make: And therefore experience hath taught us (say they) to leaue those massie Bodies of armed Battailles that serueth but for Butts for the great Artillerie to play upon: And to seek more nimble and light Fanterie that may bee readie to take and leaue at their pleasure.

3 And for the severitye of Discipline in the warres (they say) it is like the Pivensio of some Divines, that would have men in this world passe an Angelicall life, without any faults or errors: which being so farr above the nature of man to performe: In aspiring to it many times they commit more foule and grosse faults than the vulgar sort, that never reach at such perfection: and thereby become ridiculous to the world as they also will bee that shall attempt such præcise Discipline Militarie, as is utterly impossible to put in execution, and unnecessarie for this our age, where Weapons and Orders of the warres are so altered and changed.

These are the most effectuall Reasons that ever I could heare alleged on that side to maintaine their hereticall opinion. But as there is no cause so bad, but may by finess of wit be cleared and made appeare probable, So is there no doctrine so false but by craft & subtilty of mans inventions shall bee made plausible and to appeare matter of good truth. These reasons indeed at the first ap-

pearance seeme probable, but being duly weighed are no thing woorth.

1 And first for leauing Armes in respect of the furie of the Fireshot which no portable Armor is able to resist, is both friuolous and false. For there are many reasons to vse conuenient Armes, albeit that were true that they profited vs nothing against the Fireshot. For they defend vs from the *Launce*, from the *Pike*, the *Halberd*, the *Laucelin*, the *Dart*, the *Arrow*, and the *Sword*: yea and from the greater part of the fireshot also that any way endanger vs in the field: I meane euen the portable and indifferent Armor that is made (~~now~~ of Musket or Caleuer prooffe) but onely against the Launce and Pistoll. For the greatest part of the fireshot that touch the bodies of any man in the field, graze first and strike vpon the ground: And from all such shot, a meane Armor verie portable and easily to bee worne by any souldier, sufficeth to saue a mans life, as ordinary experience in the field daily teacheth. For indeede to lade men with armes of Musket prooffe (I am of their opinion) were not possible to endure, and meere folly to put in vre for many respects: too long to commit to writing in this place. But this light and meane Armour is still to bee continued in all battailes and battalions that shall encounter with Pike or Launce, because it assureth the life of man greatly from all other weapons, yea and from the most part of the fireshott also.

2 Neyther is there any Martiall *Commander* of iudgment, that will obiekt his Battailles or Battalions as a But for the great or small Artillerie to play vpon: But will alway aduance forward their owne shot and lightest armed loose men to encounter their enemies shot, and surprize his Ordinance before the battailes or battalions come within daunger of the Artillerie great or small, to bee plaied on at *Pointe Blanky*. And there-
by

by shall the enimie bee enforced cyther to put forward his Light-horse or Fanterie before his great Ordinance to guard and defend them: Or else they shall bee possessed or cloyed.

If hee protect them with horse and foote of his owne from surprize, then may the *Squadrons* march on safely, and so (by good discretion) the armed battailes are in no daunger at all of their Enemies Artillerie, but may aduenture forward in safety to backe their owne shott and light armed, which were sent to surprize or cloy their enemies Artillery. And the without any more annoyance of the great Ordinaunce, the Battailles come to ioyne with Launce, Sword, or Pike, as in olde time in auncient warres hath beene accustomed.

Farther all men know (that are of skill or experience) that great Artillerie verie seldome or neuer can hurt any footeman, that vpon giuing fire onely doo but abase themselues on their knee till the voley bee past, being much more terrible to vnskillfull and vnexpert new *Besoignes*, than any way hurtfull to trayned Souldiers. And therefore (as is apparant) no reason in respect cyther of the great or small *Artillerie* or *Fireshots* cyther to leaue conuenient armes, such as the Antiquitie vsed, and were able to march withall many hundred miles, or such *Battalions* as the *Romanes* vsed. If any man will obiect that *Rygtters* with their *Pistolles*, and *Argoletires* with their *Pettrouels*, (which the *Romanes* had not) would beat your massie *Phallex* of Pikes (vsed by the *Gracians*) downe to the ground, without receiving any dammage at all by them.

Heereunto I say, if we had not cyther *Pistolles* or *Lances* on horsebacke to encounter these *Rygtters* and *Argoletires*, they said somewhat. Or if we had not *Musketers* on foot to empale or line our battailes, that
should

should more spoile their Squadrons of Ruitters before they could approach nigh the place where they should discharge their pistols. For there is no souldier of iudgement that commendeth the ancient Romane or Gracian Discipline that would haue vs reiect all Moderne weapons to cleaue to theirs onely. But embracing the Moderne fireshot also to leaue the abusing of them, and vsing them rightly to vse still the auncient and right Martiall Discipline also of the Romanes and Gracians. Wee see (long since the fireshot hath beene vsed) that the *Zwitzers* notwithstanding haue continued their massie battailes of armed pikes like the *Gracian Phalanx*, and verie honourably discharged themselves both in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germanie*. In such sort as the Emperour *Charles* & the *French King* both relied on them greatly, and to this day (of the *Mercenaries*) they carry the reputation with the best. So that no furie of the fireshot hath euer caused them to leaue their massie *Phalanx* by the *Gracians* vsed.

How much lesse then should the *Romane Order of Battallions* feare our Fireshot? Nay rather is it not the most excellent ordinance that possibly can be imagined? As well to open themselves (without disorder) to giue a way to their Fireshot to sally forth, and retire in safety without any danger of any charge by their Enemies horse, and so more fit and conuenient for our warres and weapons now in vse, than they were for the weapons of that age wherein they were first practized? And if neither the small nor great artillery of our age could euer make the *Zwitzers* or *Lance-Knights* to leaue their massie mayne Battaille or *Phalanx*, but that in all warres they haue so honourably discharged themselves, as all Princes are glad to embrace their friendships and aydes: how much more wold they haue excelled, if they had retained also the Roman Embattailing in *Battallions*, which they inuented onely to defeat the *Macedonians* and *Gra-*

cien Phalaux.

3. Now for the 3. *Ineffline* against their Phrenzie that would haue in *Souldierie* or *Dismitie* such refined Discipline, as is impossible for men, and more fit for Angels.

I answere I am indeede of their opinion, that it is fantasticke and phanaticall to aduise such a Discipline any way, as is impossible for men to obserue. But if the *Gracians* and *Romans* also (being men in flesh as we are) many hundred yeares together did obserue and keepe such Discipline as I perswade, Then I cannot see any such impossibility as they inferre, Or would make Princes beleue. But the truth is, it is not for the profit or priuate benefite of such mercenarie Commaunders as most comonly manage the wars of our age, to haue that honorable auntient seuer discipline reuiued, which is the cheefe impedimēt. Yet somewhat also I confesse in *Europe* the great wealth that most Nations are in this age growne vnto, and the delicate education of their children from their infancie doth make that seuer discipline more strange vnto vs, and somewhat more difficult to put in execution, As all things of highest *Excellencie* are also accompanied with greater difficultie. But if it be compared with the greatnes of the good that thereby shall ensue, and the great necessity without delay to haue it done, (If we esteeme libertie and abhorre to be slaues to strangers) it may perhaps be found more easy far than at the first it seemes. Or if at first for meaner faultes we mitigate the paines, and by conuenient degrees proceede to cure the maladie that groweth too too dengerous, we shall at least do some-what if not the best, which is rather to be wished than naught at all.

But because these *Patrons* of the new *Militia* haue one other arch Argument (*a Verisimile*) to abuse the world withall; I will also set it downe with such answere as briefly may open the *fallacie* thereof, and the necessity of Reformation without delay.

The fourth Reason.

If (say they) the alteration of weapons considered, there were any better Discipline for the warres, the inuention of man is so excellent in this age, and their wittes so refined, as they would put it in vve, as well as they haue inuented these fire-weapons, So farre exceeding all their Antique Romaine Rammes, Scorpions, Balistes, and Arcubalistes, as we see the old Engines now (in respect of them) were toys: Euen so is also their auncient Discipline, in respect of the rare Militia moderne of our Age.

To this reason of theirs I answere: That no doubt the inuention of man in this age is indeede excellent, and farre exceeding the former ages for 500. or 1000. yeares past: as may appeare by all Artes and Sciences that haue of late more flourished than in a thousand yeeres before. But if we haue regard to the more auncient times of the triumphant Graecian States, and Rethose niane Empire, we shal finde for al Arts & Sciences ages far excellling ours, & no persons of our age (either for learning or Chiuallrie) yet comparable with them: If comparing the actions and bookes of the one and the other, we will by the fruites iudge vnpartiallie of the trees. But euen as Diuines, Phisitions, Lawyers, Philosophers, Mathematicians, and Rethoricians, and all other (studious of any liberall Sciences in our age) are inforced to repaire vnto those antique fountaines, where all Arts liberall were in their high perfection: So surely for the warres much more we ought, Seeing there was not one Science or Art then, more reduced to her full and supreme perfection.

Neuerthelesse I deny not, that the Commanders of
our

our time for that scope and end perhaps they shot at, haue finely framed a Discipline as profitable & perfect, as the antique was for theirs. For in this our age (especiallie these fortie or fiftie yeares, since the Emperour *Charles* left his Martiall actions : And our renowned King *Henry* the eight, and *Francis* the French King dyed) there hath scarcely beene any King of *Europe* that hath at any time in any royall war gone to the field himselfe, but only committed their Martiall actions chieflie to the execution of their *Lienetnants* and inferior *Commanders*, which must of necessitie make great alteration. For where a King is *Oculus in castris*, he seeth that which his *Lienetnants* wil neuer acquaint him with, being not for their commodities.

When Kings goe to the warres themselves, they see what is profitable or discommodious for themselves and their Realmes, and aduance such Discipline as may be most beneficiall to them and their State, As their Deputies will such Discipline as may be most commodious for themselves, howsoever it be good or bad for their King or State.

Again in this our age Kings generally haue made their warres (not so much with their owne people, as with mercenaries and hired Souldiers, Who haue reason for their private benefite to vse a government and Discipline farre different from that they ought & would if they were led and commaunded by a King of their owne. Their scope perhaps for the most part being to enrich themselves. Howsoever the successe of the war be for the King or State that payes them.

I deuy not but the Moderne Discipline and Customes for enriching of themselves, (I meane of Superior *Commanders*) is most singular and refined to the utmost. As

If a Generall will be content his Capitaines shall keepe their Bands halfe empty, and yet by fraudes in

Musters

Musters make his Prince or State pay nigh compleate.

If he will suffer them to pill and spoile the Countrey where they lie, oppressing their friends more than their enemies.

If when he hath singled their pay, he will be content to leade them, or haue them led to some butcherie, where most of their throats shall be cut, that their dead payes may be shared among the Leaders.

Or generallie for all those pointes of the moderne custome or discipline repugnant to the *Antique*: who seeth not they are as finelie and wittelie inuented for the profit and commoditie of the mercenarie lucrous Commanders, as possibly can be deuised: and surelie the wit of men can inuent no more than hath beene, To pretend cunninglie the benefite of the Prince and State they serue, and yet finelie indeede to enrich themselves with the impouerishing and very ruine of their Prince or State that payeth the. And surelie if Mercenary (Leaders that serue not for any Zeale, conscience, or dutie they owe to that Prince or Countrey, but only seeke the warres for gaine) haue framed such a discipline, I cannot so much blame them though they carrie no such *Lacedemonian* or *Romane* resolution (rather to dy in the fildes, than save themselves by flight) But choose rather to enrich themselves and their confederates by such escapes, hauing thereby the sharing of all their dead Souldiers payes without contradiction, Seeing dead dogges barke not. But after they haue learned abroad in these mercenarie warres this foule, base, cowning and corrupt cowardly Discipline, to bring it home into their native Countries: who seeth not it must of necessity worke in time the very ruine of their State? For as a woman that hath once made shipwracke of her honestie, easilie maketh arelaps: So fareth it in these mercenary Fugitiues, that hauing once cast away shame (which onlie or cheifelic maketh men resolute) to sacrifice their

Lines

Liues for their Countrey) afterward become so far past shame, as they hold it no disgrace by shamefull flight at any time to saue themselves. This error alone creeping into England (if euer we be inuaded by a puissant Enemie) is sufficient vtterly to ouerthrow the State: For it is the honorable resolution of our Nation (*To conquer or dye in the field*) that must deliuer England, If we be inuaded by a forceable Enemie.

For we haue no such multitudes of strong Townes as other Countries: Our Armes and weapons are our wals and Rampiers. We therefore of all other Nations ought to reuiue the auntient most Honorable *Lacedemonian* Resolution. *To account the shame of dishonorable flight worse than death.* But seeing it is hard in this age of delicacie to worke in mothers that honorable *Spartan* Resolution (*To abhorre their own children that were Fugitives*) Yet surelie for all men to detest their company, And for Magistrats to disgrace them, (as persons unworthy euer after to beare Armes) is a thing not onelie necessarie, but of such necessity as (if it be omitted, and not in time put in due execution) I doubt we shall too late repent it when all remedie will be past: the Wiseman saith not *Had I wist.*

My meaning is not to call in question any priuate persons of our Nation, for any errors committed in foraine countreies: for surely these foule depraued customes were growne so common among the Mercenary Seruitors of all Nations, as many valiant men by Example of others their Superiors or Leaders haue fallen into them. But when we come to serue (not mercenarie for pay of strangers) but our naturall Prince and Country, (to whom we owe our bodies and liues) it is fit this part of auntient true Martial Discipline be seuerelie reuiued and published, and remerkable Exampels made vpon the first breakers, As also a due reformation of all such other abuses, fraudes, and deceits, as allure men

thereunto, and tend to the robbing of our Prince, the defacing of true valour, and aduancing onely of subtilie, base minded, lucrous cowardly caterpillers, tending finally to the very ruine and ouerthrow of the honour of our Prince and Nation, & felicious estate of our Countrey.

I meane not at this time to enter into the meanes how this Discipline should be reformed, or how *Souldiers* should be made obediēt, for it would require a great volume: but by that I haue read of the Roman & Greeke warres, and by mine owne experience conferred with the opinion of other worthie Souldiers and great Commanders of our owne age I dare boldly affirme and with good reasons and authoritie maintaine, That it shal be much more easie to frame such an honorable *Militia* or *Souldierie* by a leaue of our Countrey-men (newer in warres before) than of such as haue bene depraued and corrupted in the loose, lewde, lucrous, licentious liberties of the warres of this time: As by that I haue more at large set downe in diuers parts of my *Stratagems* concerning the offices and dewties of euery seuerall degree from the private Souldier to the *General*, and the Military lawes of seuerall Nations) there set downe also, more euidently, will appere. This much only in this place I may ad. That albeit *Premium* and *Pena* be most Soueraigne medecines to cure all *Uicers* and infections that happen to the politique bodie of any State, whether it be in ciuill or Martiall causes, yet Example speciallie with our Nation is the cheife.

For as in the meanest matters (if it be but only in apparel, or attyres) the Example of our Court is able to reforme or deforme the whole Land, and by bare Example only to doo tenne times more than *Proclamations*, *threatnings*, and *Statutes* parall: So in Martiall causes much more we haue regard to such actions as great Commanders doe, which in Court are favoured, aduanced

vaunted, or countenanced. If they doo well, full easely will all inferiors conforme themselves: But if they either by custome continue courses inconuenient, or by facilitie of nature be seduced but to tollerate onlie the abuses which are too currant in these daies, and not seuerely chaastise the delinquent without regard of pleasing or discontenting the diseased multitude (how good lawes so euer be established; or proclamations made) it is in vaine: For the loose licentious sort iudge them either published onely for fashion sake without regard whether they be obserued or no, or els their lewde faction to be so strong as Magistrates dare not punish them: And either of these conceiptes ioyned with the profit and sweetenes these licentious Commaunders make by their corruptions, is sufficient to embolden them more audaciouly still to put their fraudes in execution: But, what succeedeth thereof, by example and experience in all ages we may behold.

First in *Rome* (by reason of the Ciuill warres between *Caesar* and *Pompey*, and after beetwne *Augustus Caesar*, *Anthony*, *Brutus* and, *Cassius*) the Martiall Discipline grewe to corruption, no one side daring to vse the ancient due seueritie, lest they should reuolt to his aduersaries. But what ensued, after the right Martiall *Legions* were decayed, and a licentious *Prætorian Guard* maintained? but the ruine of that famous and mightie Empire, ransacked, and spoyled by the *Hunnes*, *Goths*, and *Vandales*, the most base of all the Barbarous people that they before had conquered. The like I might particularlie set downe of diuers of the most Martiall *Græcians* common-weales, if we had not our next neighbour the mightie Kingdome of *Fraunce* (even in our owne age, by the very like depraued Customes first learned among the *Italians*, and nourished in that Realme likewise by Ciuill discentions) brought into most lamentable miserie. A spectacle to stirre-up all Princes (while they

they may) to prevent those calamities which will be too late.

For after ciuill warres were once begunne, the King, nor the Prince his enemies, could keepe seuerer hand on Martiall iustice, lest these dissolute Soldiers should reuolte, and so were indeede rather Suppliants than *Commanders* of their Armies: which beeing for the most part composed of mercenary hirelings, deuised all meanes prodigally to maintaine themselves, whatsoeuer became of their Prince, or Countrey, the successe whereof wee see.

And that is that *Moderne discipline* which so greedily the licentious of all Nations swallow vp, and are infected withall by the contagion of such as they haue conuersed with, Tending chieflie to the maintenance of themselves in excessiue riotous wastings, and to the vtter ouerthrow of all Princes or States that shall beserued with them.

To conclude therefore this true and needefull *Paradox*, I hope (by the conference of these fewere repugnant points of the *Ancient* and *Moderne Martiall Discipline*) It doth sufficiently appeare, That as the latter are deuised wholly for the profit of corrupt persons (and both dishonorable and extreame dangerous to any State or Realme that shall endure them, So the former which I haue named of the *Antiquitie*) are both for the honour, profit and aduancement of the seruice of any King or State that shall embrace them.

And therefore too apparant (not only by euident discourse of reason, but also by plaine experience and successe in other Realmes & States) That where such abuses & corruption of true Martiall Discipline shall be permitted, there can in time ensue no better than confusion & vtter ruine. And yet nothing doubt, but that our Nation, As by nature it is as warlike as any other vnder the Heauen (hauiug in times past while they were trained & led

led by honorable *Generals*, conquered their enemies being tenne to one, as appeareth by the *Chronicles* and confessions of our very enemies themselves) So hereafter also (by due regard in choice of such Commanders, and redresse of such moderne Errors) we shall leaue to our posteritie also like monuments of Fame, as haue beene left to vs by those our right Martiall and Honorable Auncestors.

K

The





3 The third Paradox.

That the sometimes neglected souldiers profession deserves much commendation, and best becomes a Gentleman, that desires to live virtuously, or die Honorable.

Præludium.

I Will neither deny, nor commend, my loue to *Poetry*, some little idle time spent in it for my priuate recreation I repent not, it hath good vse, and is a good exercise for busie yonge heads: The noble adorning of that practise Sir *Phillip Sidney* though he liued an age before me, I yet honor, I loue his memorie, and in my best wishes to my Countrie, I sometimes sadly wish our Nobility and Gentry would be his followers: yet being as he was a man of Armes by nature, ^a *quem Pallas nutrit in antris*, of *Pallas* bringing vp, one that suckt milke from both her breasts, a learned souldier; I would he had left the patronage of *Poetrie* to some more priuate spirit, and saued me a labor by bestowing his much better witte on some requisite Apologie for souldiers,

*a Pallingen in
Asiæ.*

souldiers, whose profession is now as much contemned
as to be a^b *Gratian*, or as a Scholer was wont to be in
Rome, whose name is as vnpleasing as c *Iehan* in *France*,
or d *Ione* in *Naples*, whose nature is esteemed so vile, that
some men thinke it iustice to make a conuertible reci-
procation betwixte them and wandring houleles men:
But when I call to minde howe e *Homer* the best Poet
chose as the best subject to describe

Rex gestas regumq; ducumq; & tristia bella:
The exploits of Captaines, Kinges and dismall
combatinges.

Tyrtæusq; mares animos ad Martia bella
versibus exacuit.

And how mens mindes to Martiall fight,
Tyrtæus did with rimes excite.

When I remember how *Leonidas* and his compani-
ons had in memoriall of their euer to be remembred
seruice certaine Poeticall songs sung by the *Græci*
how euen the rude inhabitants of *Hispaniola* like our
auncient *Bards* haue their customarie rimes, *Ad prælia*
excitantes anorum gesta recitando, to quicken their cou-
rages by reciting the acts of their foresathers; all which
I know Sir *Phillip Sidney* so great a scholer, could not
but know: then loe I enuie not the *Muses* good happe,
that had one of *Mars* his followets to be their Cham-
pion: since his worthie deeds and honorable death as-
sure me he would haue spared that defence, if he had
not assured himselfe that it was Poetries best vse

Vt dignos inde viros vetet mori.

To labour that the memorie
of worthy men may neuer die.

Sure then I thinke some thankfull Poet, that hath
drunke store of *Castalian* liquour and is full of fury, can-
not doo better than in requitall of his kindnes indeuour
i^t *gratus insigni referat Camena, dicenda Mæus præ-*
lia.

b Montag. lib.
1 Essay. 25.

c Idē Essay. 42.

d Guichard. 1.

lib.

e Hora; de arte
Poetica.

f Ibidem et In-
sti: Hisp.

g Pet. Marti:
De: 3. Cap. 7.

h Hora. Od. 3
lib. 4.

i Idem.

To singe in verse excellinge
wars worth the *Muses* telling.

Nor needes he feare to want attention, vnlesse he
want a Poets wit to tell the contents of his booke in
proxime with

k *Luca: lib. 1.*

k *Bella per Amathios plus quam ciuilia campos &c.*

I singe the Ciuill warres tumultuous broyles Sec.

l *Perseus.*

Assuredly had it befallen me, *in bicipiti somniasse Per-*
nasso, to steale a nap amongst the rest in the top of the
mountaine, or *si quid mea carmina possent*, if my verses
were of any vertue, I would desire to write some wor-
thy souldiers praise in dust and bloud as *du Bartas* ho-
ped to doo *Henrie of France* his in *Pampeluna*. But foole
that I am.

m *Sir Phillip*
Sidney.

m I neuer dranke of *Aganippe* wel
nor euer did in shade of *Tempe* sit.

Nor am I able to perswade our Poets to intreate of
warres indeede.

n *Horat. Od. 6.*
lib. 1.

n *Praelia virginum*

Sectis in iuuenes vnguibz acrium

Dum cantant vacui.

While idly they sing the scarres
that yonge men catch in wenching warres.

What then, shall souldiers want their due, because
I want abilitie to doe them right? shall I not speake
what I can, because I cannot speake what I would? no
sure, that were iniustice, this were folly. *Horace* can
tell.

o *Idem lib. 1.*
Episto.

o *Est aliquid prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.*

Tis somewhat to doe somewhat, though not well.
It is inough for me to breake the Ice, and let the
world see what may be said for the warres and souldiers
when one whose whole kyndred almost by Father and
Mother lost their liues or spent their liuing in the wars,
is able through bare loue without learninge, with
out

out Arte to speake as fellowes in defence of Souldiers.

I euer thought nothing worse for Gentlemen than idlenesse, except doing ill, but could not at the first resolve how they might be fittest busied: To play the Merchants was only for Gentlemen of *Florence, Venice*, or the like that are indeede but the better sort of Citizens: ploughing and grazing I esteemed worse than mechanickall occupations: the Court was but for fewe, and most of the liued too luxuriously: to study or trauel was good, but directed to this end, that they might be fit for some profession the thing in question: For Diuinity they many times thought themselues too good, and I was sure they were most times vnfit: Lawe was but a mony getting trade, and Physicke a dangerous tickle Arte, at last I thought on the warres, where the learned might perfect their contemplation by practise and the vnlearned helpe that defect by well gotten experience: and this was my 17 yeares meditation: afterwards that impression was strengthened dayly by the remembrance of my fathers courses, by the experience of some other occurrents and by the obseruation of as many things as my litle reading encountred that might make for that purpose. So I grew to affect scholers such as would speake that, that might be vnderstoode, and could reduce their studie in histories the Mathematickes or the like from speculation to practise for the profitable pleasure of their friendes or honorable seruice of their Country. I liked trauelers so they would be silent, yet were able when time serued to discourse iudiciously of the state and power of more Countries, of the strenght and situation of more Cities, of the forme and force of more seuerall fortifications, than other Corkeheaded counterseits could reckon vp of *Bonna robba Bordeaus* or apish fashions: about all the perfection of the endemors of the former 2. I loued souldiers, such as hated

Cheating, Drinking, Lying, whooring, Prating, Quarreling and lewde behauour. And either maimed, growne olde or wanting imploiment, had retired themselues to some priuate(perhaps poore)life, but that they liued contented: and though mine owne ability were then in minoritie, my heart esteemed him not a Gentleman, would suffer such as these to want ought he could helpe them to: thus I spent the five yeares following. And now my almost freedde body is readie for the warres which I before resolued was most fit for men of my place: But want of imploiment imposes on me an vnacceptable idlenesse which I sorrily passe-ouer with laughing at the lamentable folly of our besotted Gentry; one thinks it is commendation to weare good cloathes with iudgment, another for that he is a handsome man, a thurd for cunning carding, but if some youth of hopeful expectation attaine some skil in Musicke, some tricks in Dauncing or some Fencing qualitie, the World consisting most of Women-fooles and cowards will peremptorily pronounce this compleate Gentlemans worth too great for one Cronicle.

R. Iuena.
Sat. I.

At quis ferat istas
Stultia sordes

But who can quietly
Indure such foppery.

q Diodor. Sicu.
lib. 10. Cap. 3.

q Pn Gentile b
ma de ville.

I that desire a man should be more worth than his cloathes, the inside best, I that thinke it my good fortune to haue small skill in gadding, I that hate vnecessarie qualities, as the q Egyptians did Musicke for making men effeminate, cannot but dislike our Gentry should be of Taylors meere creation or spend there time in pastime or make their recreation there vocation, me thinkes our Citie-Gentlemen as for their slouthfull life, the French-

French-men scoffing termethē might for their recreation sometimes read how *Phillip* reprehended *Alexanders* skill in singing. How *Antibisthines* condemned *Is-menias* his playing on the Flute, or the like Examples and so learne to leaue musing of their pretious time into too too well affected fruitlesse courses They might remember how much one *Alexander* did in poore 12. yeeres, what *Scipio* was ere he was twenty foure and weghing well how *Julius* like their actions imitate their Forefathers whose honour they vniustly challenge me thinks they might euen hate themselues for letting the world see they haue the leasure to spend whole daies at cardes yet haue done nothing worthie memory saue idely wasted their wealth to purchase infamy. But you whose Countrey life hath best affinitie with your true calling the warres as least subiect to luxurie as most affected of auntient Souldiers can you not loue hunting because it resembles the warres but you wil neuer leaue hūting? is there more Musicke in a stinking curre howling qualitie than a Drume or Trumpet? will you in these times giue men occasion to aske whether your Countrey haue no Men you make so much account of Dogges that your life seemes brutish still with Dogges & your discourse vnreasonable still of Dogges? O rather let the Example of our Great Great Maister that worthily loues hunting as the Noblest sport yet only folloves it at vacante times teach you henceforth to vse your sports as sports and not still to dwell in them nor in the tedious discourse of them.

But whither doth contempt of follie carry me? Both th' one & th' other sort of our decaied Gentry, haue but the bate name of some auntient house but few sparks of English vertue they are so farre from being Gentlemen they neither speake nor liue like men, yet if their charmed Sences can indure to heare of remedy as *Phillip* was put in minde of death or *Xerxes* of the losse

*Plutar in vita
Darii
Ibidem.*

*Idē in Alexan.
Idem in Scipi-
et
Leo Impera cap.
23.78.*

*L. E. Cincinnatus
alluding to
Cæsars speech
to the strangers
Plutar. in vita
Peric.*

*Plutar.
Herodot. in
Terpsicora.*

of

*Plutar.
in
Pyrrho.

of *Sardis*. He play the young-man once, and crye to them in the middelt of their vaine life and idle talking, Remember *Pyrrhus* whose life and studie spent and imploied in military affaires doth shew what course of life best fits the better sort of men, who being askt who plaide best on the Fluite, *Pythou* or *Cephefian* answered wisely though indirectly, *Poliperchon* in his iudgment was the best Captaine to teach the standers-by how noble spirits should discourse. O then remember *Pyrrhus*, be as you ought your selues, leaue vanity & let your liues your words be warlike, your truest honour will be to be Souldiers, and your most vertuous course of life the warres.

*Estate of Eng
lish Fugitiues.

But alas, as through the indirect proceeding of separate Censurers, men oft condemne the warres for murdering our men, and wasting our mony in lingring fruitlesnesse, where many times the fault is in our souldiers disabilitie, poore hunger-starued snakes halfe dead ere they go out of England: such as were a cumber rather than an ayde to the auncient *Romans*: such as with our moderne *Spaniards* are sent a yere or two to take hart at grasse (as we say) in *Italy*, before they suffer them to come to seruice, whereas most times the corruptnes of Officers (such as seeke the wars for gaine only, and make no conscience to cousin *Princes*, and the ignorance of leaders, such decayed vnthristie gallants as to gett a little money by the sale, spoile or slaughter of their Companies make meanes to be fauorably sent, from the Court to the Camp, as Commanders, before they knowe how to obey) are true causes of extraordinarie spoile of Treasure, of making the warres seeme (if not be, dilatorie and fruitlesse: So on the other side, those officers, those Captaines, and those Souldiers, being in their kinds the worse part of our people, are indeed of such inuincible lewdnes that either dronelike sucking wax only fro sweetest flowers, or worse couerting hole-
somest

things to poyson, they only vse the warres as naughty
 men doe learning, to increase their wickednesse. Pro-
 uing the axiome in Phylosophy most true, *Quicquid*
recipitur, recipitur secundum modum recipientis. That
 which is receiued, is receiued according to the qualitie
 of the receiuer: so that men seeing them spende that
 most vitiouly which they got most lewdly are readie
 grounding themselues on their example to raile at soul-
 diers as a profession of licentious lawlesse libertie, and
 repute souldiers for dissolute rakehels in whom there is
Nulla fides pietasue, noe feare of God, no thought of
 goodnesse. Yet as the studie of Philosophie was not
 to be condemned, because some Phylosophers were
d Epicures, as the name of Kings was not to haue bin
 hated because *Tarquine* was a Tyrant: No more I thinke
 are souldiers to be contemned or their profession ill es-
 teemed of for that some bawdiehouse Captaines or ale-
 house souldiers liue loosely; or for that many that fol-
 lowe the warres of our time where discipline is too too
 much corrupted are such as only liue by the warres and
 so indeuor gaine by all the meanes they can saue honest
 courses: For were our military discipline as in truth it
 ought of that powerfull sanctitie that our armes the
 most perfect politicke bodies might for the goodnesse
 of their lawes and orders and the iustnes of their exscu-
 sion, attaine their true perfection of surpassing the best
 ruld Citties in Ciuitie, that our Commanders like the
 auncient *Romans* that held their faith more firme with
 enemies than some men now doe neereft bonds of due-
 tie and alleagiance, might know it is their office to pu-
 nish even their deereft freinds offences, that our souldi-
 ers worthely indeuoring in God their Prince or Coun-
 tries quarrell to exchange their liues for honor onely
 might learne to account it their greatest honor to be an
 honor to their calling by performing the necessarie du-
 ties of their calling.

b⁴ rift. lib. 3. de
 A nini. Cap. 1.

c Lucandib. 3.

d Plutar. libel.
 contra. Epicu.
 e Tit. Livi. De. 8
 lib. 3.

Then as the *Romans* with their victories droue away barbarisme out of our countries by leauing vs a pattern of more ciuill life, from their warlicke gouernment, of which most parts of *Europe* yet to this day retain some remnants I see not but it might please God to reward our industrie by making our conquering swordes the instruments to plante religion amongst *Turkes* and infidelles, and reforme the errors of wandring Christians, when they seeing our souldiers such as the *Indians* did *Albuquerque* and his company of *Portingalls* may stedfastly beleue that God omnipotent as they did that King worthy, that hath such vertuous seruants: the would our warriours like true aunciēt souldiers strue to be religious, vertuous, full of honesty, and we might iustly thinke with the *Thessalian* those of our countreimē most dull and sottish that went not to the warres: or say with the *Ecolian* the warre is better farre than peace for him that hath a minde to proue an honest man.

For then our Campe would be a schoole of vertue where (by dutifull obedience) men should be trayned vp and taught what appertained to wise cōmanding: where religion perhaps the cause of the quarrell should be so feruent, that men would thinke it their cheifest ioy, in midst of greatest miseries, to haue the feare of God their meditation and an vnspotted life their comfort. For the memorie of *Alexander* that the night before the battell with *Darius* cald for *Aristander* to winne the fauor of Gods with sacrifice: or of *K. Eneas*.

Quin iustior alter

Nec pietate fuit, nec bello maior et armis:

Than who n there was none more vpright
in goodnesse, nor more great in fight.
that in *Virgil* leaues his companions buried, or

Arce quibus altus Apollo

Præsidet horrendæq; domus Secreta Sibilla
antrum immane petis &c.

¹ Ofor. de reb. ge-
stis.
Emanus: Hist. q:
lib: 10:

² Plutar: in libell.
de relocatione
lib:
³ Idem in lib: de
distictis factis
Locatoma:

¹ Quint: Curt:
lib: 2

² Virgil: lib: 11

³ Virgil: 4:

To high *Apollon* temple hies
and to those dreaded mysteries,
the horride vault where *Sibyl* lies &c.

Or of *m. Camillus* that would begin and end his skirmishes with prayers, or of the *Romans* whose victories built Churches, with whom contempt of the Gods was a certaine signe of overthrow; would make our souldiers call to minde it is their dutie to be as earnest in holy workes of piety, as they were zealous in their superstition, they blindly did they knew not what, and though through the soules struggling to ascend from whence it came, there arose some sprakes, that gaue them light to see there was *ens entium*: a power aboue all humane power that lookt for reuerence, yet wanting meanes to apprehende that rightly, their best endcuors proued but fruitles workes of darkenesse, but out of doubt our Christian souldiers as they haue much more hope, more helps, and more incitements, I do presume are much more truely and more earnestly religious.

These haue assurace grounded on infallible witness: that they serue the only true and euerliuing God that giues the victory to thē that rightly call vpon him for it, and rewards plentifully those that deserue it. These by the orders of their discipline, as helps to their weakenes, cōforts to their miseries, and Ministers of Gods blessings haue necessary *Lenites* to performe to them all rites that may prepare them, that are in health and therefore lesse hindred frō being prepared for death that hourely hāgs ouer them. To assure them when they sometimes besieged suffer famine as fearefull as that of *Jerusalem*, as great as King *P. Sarr* his souldiers that would not forbear drinke to gaine a Kingdome, yet choose to die miserably, rather than yeeld to change their faith, that that faith shalbe rewarded with a happy crowne of Immortalitie. To teach thē that to be sometimes for Christs cause made gallislaues, where with the constant spirits

*Tit. Liv. lib. 5
Deca: 1:*

*Plutarch lib. de
Fortuna Roman.*

*See Imper. Cap:
20: 47. & 75. &
Cap: 18: 18:*

** Ioseph de bel. Iud.
lib: 6: Cap: 4:
et: 16:
p Plutarch in vita
Lycurg:*

of true Christian souldiers they indure afflictions, that would make softhearted men such perhappes as speake against souldiers, euē forsake their great captaine Iesus: is a sure meanes to gaine in exchange of those bonds the freedome of Heauen. To exhort them last of all if by Gods mercifull preseruatiō when death came a tithing on ^{any} side, whē multitudes of enemies encōpassed them about, they proue the sole remnant of many hundreds, to returne to their natie Countrie there to dye in peace, that whiles they liue they cannot haue a better president to imitate than the worthy Captaine *q Cornelius*.

q Acts of the
Apostles. Cap.
10.

r Iosua. Cap. 7.

s Exod. Cap. 17.
verse 11.

g Sam. 2. Cap. 13

v Pſalm. 144
ver. 1.

w Iſai. Cap. 1
Jerem. Cap. 11.

y Plutar. in vita
Antoni.
x Guichard;
lib. 3.

Besides these Minesters, these souldiers haue the Scriptures, where contemning play bookes and base pamphlets vnfit studies for dying men) they may reading learne to imitate: *Iosua* before the battell, that prayed the *Israelites* might not be deliuered into the hands of the *Amorites*: or *Moses* in the battell that lifted vp his hands to heauen for victorie: or *Dauid* after the battell that praised God the author of his conquests with ioyfull songs of thankesgiuing: where they may reading learne to giue continually all honor and religious worshipping to that God *That teacheth their fingers to fight and their hands to Battell*, euen in the midst of their armies from whence he pleases to appropriate vnto himselfe one of his great & glorious titles *The Lord of Hostes*.

But perhaps some one obseruing how great *Anthony*, did sacrifice himselfe to luxurie, or hauing reade the true cause of *Charles* the 8 of *Fraunce* his posting pilgrimage to *Paris* when he should haue gone for *Naples* may thinke he sees good reason to condemne a souldiers religion as consisting of too much Deuotion to these Saints: I must confesse the folly of some souldiers in time of Idleness hath giuen some colour to the fable of *Mars* and *Venus*, but I cannot see how the profession;

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can deserue that imputation: for either that fable is a Poets mere fiction, and so not to be credited, since through their lyinge madenesse euen Heauen it selfe is defiled, or els is grounded on some naturall cause, and then as *Sol* and *Mercurie* the Patrons of Poets Lawiers and the like are in the Celestiall Globe neerer to *Venus* as oft in coniunction and for their naturall proprietie more concordant, In reason me thinkes those Poets, Lawiers, and the like that leade *Vitam sedentariam*, a quiet life, sleepe their fill and eate their meate at due seasons must of necessitie be much more subiect to incontinency than Souldiers, that may well with *Scipio* contemne lasciuiousnesse, since thinking still how to conquere men, their leasure serues them not to betome slaues to women, that may learne of *Scanderbeg* to liue long vnmarried and yet most honest, that their bodies may be the stronger and better able to do or suffer what pertaines to Souldiers: that may as *Pericles* willed *Sophocles* euen keepe their eies from lusting, their course of life being of such singlnes that they are seldom or neuer troubled with the sight of womē that are last of all daily mortified with colde, hunger losse, of blood, and perpetual labour: so that if *Henry* the maiden-King of *Portugal* could, they may well be *per totam vitam spatium libidinis expertes* euen al their life time free frō incontinēt-desires, at least able with *Alexander* to resist the temptatiō of a *Philoxenes* or an *Ephestion* though their temper were as hotte as *Alexanders* that by reason of heat breathed forth sweete fauors.

And yet not neede to coole theiṛ complexions with too much liquour: the death of *Clitus* and the burning of *Persopolis* may assure them *Alexanders* drunkenness drowned al his other vertues: fso *Seneca* pronounced his happie rashnesse farre from fortitude, tainted with cruelty, the badge of Cowardize, and I may well condemne his wise dome for loosing the benefite of his vic-

^{• Plutar. in vita Scipi.}

^{• M. ar. Barles. lib. 6.}

^{• Plutar. in Peric.}

^{• Ofor. de rebus gestis Emman. lib. 2.}

^{• Plutar. in Alexan.}

^{• Quint. Curt. lib. 9.}

<sup>• Lib. 2. de bene-
fic. Cap. 13.</sup>

^a *Luca. de bel. ciuili. lib. 6.*

tory which *Cæsar* the best Capitaine thought was only this, *visitis donare salutem.*

Porto bestoe Life on the vanquishd foe.

^b *Quint. Curt. lib. 5.*

It is an idle fond infirmity fit for immodest *Babylonish* women that first drinke then daunce &c. or for vnwise womenish men louers I meane twist whom and

^c *Heliod. Hist. Acilius. lib. 3.*

drunkards there is such affinity that *in ebrietate amanti, & in amore ebrius proclinis admodum*, the louer is soone drunke, the drunkard apt to be in loue: But the overthrow of the victorious *Scitibians* in *Iustine* hath made me euen from the infancy of my reading, afraide to think

^d *Iusti. Hist. lib. 1.*

such weakenesse should be in a Souldier, as was in those *Germanij* *Pantalcon* speaks of that after many valiant exploites falling to drinking on Saint *Martius* day were all slaine by the *Turkes* that inuaded them, as the *Gracians* did *Troy* where the inhabitants were in *transommoque sepulti.*

^e *Lib. 2. de reb. gestis Ioannis.*

Dead in a deepe And drunken sleepe.

^f *Virgil. lib. 2. Aenea.*

Let the barbarous *Brasilius* drinke drunke before they enter into consultations, let their light heads be far from bringing forth weightie counsailes: but you in whose hands consists the safety of kingdomes, whose affaires stande so tikle that as *Guichardine* obserues *One commandement ill vnderstande, one order ill executed, one rashnesse, one vaine voice euen of the meanest*

^g *Osor. lib. 2. de reb. gestis Emanuel.*

Souldior carries oft times the victory to those that seemed vanquished, keepe you your wittes about you still perfect and still readie to settle vnexpected Accidents,

^h *Lib. 4.*

* The victorie lost at Perousa. *Guichard. lib. 3.*

though some Vintners of your names waste their substance as the west *Indians* do their money in their quaffing cups and then like true vnthrifts such as was *Motegallus* a Knight of *Rhodes* endeuour treacherously to *Patrimonium patrium subvertere* after the overthrow

ⁱ Their Amigdala are their mony. *Pet. Martir. Dec. 5. Cap. 4.*

of

of their owne estates to betray their country; though the weakenesse of some men be such that they first and surest learne the infirmities of the Countreies where they liue, as some auncient Trauellers were wont to do lying of the *Cretians*, perfidiousnesse of the *Carthaginians*, or effeminatnes of the people of *Asia*, as some moderne doo affected grauity of the *Spaniard*. Reueng and ieloussy of the *Italian*, and waste and lauish of the *French*, as some of our Souldiers haue done freebooting mutining and the like disorders in the Ciuill warres of the French *Leaguers*, as some haue and do this carousing qualitie by seruing among the *Dutch*. Yet let your settled iudgments discerne a difference twixt vertue and those mentioned vices, let your wisdome direct you to contemne their folly that betray their owne by drinking to anothers health, let it assure you though somefooles like the *Indian Chinichibses* thinke him most valiant that drinks most, it can be little praise to you to make your bellies hogs-heads, or your braines sponges, you may and ought to shew far truer and farre greater fortitude by liuing vertuous Cōquerers of such vicious affections that to you may dye without feare of death your countries faithfull Champions; & go as *Plutarch* tels of *Romulus* armed to heauen, and *Solon* thought of *Tellus* more happy than the richest King. For this forescore yeres-olde *Hippodamus* aduised by his king to leaue the warres, and turne into his countrey, replied he knew not where to dye more happilie than in the wars defending of his country: For this the yong vumaried & *Grecians* part of *Leonidas* his gallant followers refused to shun a certaine danger & retorne vnto their friends in safety, saying they came to fight and not to carry newes, For this I cannot chuse but attribute great honour to the warre, that is of power to make both old and young so honorable.

Par illi Regi par superis erit

Qui

*Pet. Marty.
Dec. 3. cap. 8.*

Plutar. in Romul.

Plut. in vita Solon.

*Idem in lib. de
fort. & salt.
Lacedaemon.*

Idem.

*Seneca in trog.
Agamem.*

Qui si ga tristem non tristem videt.

He is a King or more than mortall man
That vnappalde, pale death incounter can.
And they shall be most happy

x Quos ille Timoribus

Maximus bñd vrget leti mei.

To whom of all feares chiefe

The feare of death doth work no grieffe.

This is the perfect point of fortitude, this is the hardest point in all Philosophy, yet surest learned by practise and oftneft put in practise in the wars, where private Souldiers like that *x German* in *Oserius* will be sore wounded yet not retire til they dye or conquere where Captaines bury themselves in their own colours or like *a Bayard* fight till death seaze on them, yet desire to dye with their faces against their enemies; where sometimes both Captaine and Souldiers like *b Leonidas* and his companions dine with a resolution yndismaide, to sup in Heauen, & die all of them so happy, that none remains to carry the vnhappy newes. These then and such as these are Souldiers, for these are Chronicles, and such as these are (by *c Liscorgus* lawes) esteemed only worthie to haue Epitaphes; so now I see why *d Pyrrhus* trained vp his three Sonnes to be Souldiers; while he himselfe did liue and dye a Souldier; and why within *e Rome* no man might be buried that had not bene a Souldier: so now I thinke when *Alexander* dying left his crowne *f dignissimo*, vnto the worthiest, he did intend a Souldier, when the most *Indians* of *Hispaniola* bequeath theirs *g fortissimo* vnto the valiantest, they can intend none but a Souldier: and *h Pyrrhus* when he tolde his Sonnes he should succede that had the sharpest sworde, did onely meane that Sonne that prooued a Souldier: for why? should *Pyrrhus* hane resigned his Scepter to a Sonne as *Iohn* of *Armenia* did to a brother *bella ignaro vira*, a man vnexperienced in militarie affaires, there might haue well

** Lib 22. d'ereb.
gest. Emanuel.*

** Montag. lib. 1.
Essay. 3.*

** Apud Thermo-
pilas.
Diod. Sic. lib.
21.*

** Plut. in Licur.
Idem in Pyr.*

** Lin. 2. Des re-
crech dela Franc.*

** Q. Curt. &*

** Plut. in Alexan.*

** Pet. Marty. De*

3. cap. 9.

** Plutar. in Pyr.*

** Pantol de reb.
gest. Ioannis
lib. 4.*

well be feared a desolate subuersion of his state like that, that thereon followed, in the Kingdom of *Armenia*. But he that saw the *Romans* growe from small beginnings to a mightie nation by continuall warre, and found that for increasing of their fame, riches and power, their loue was settled on the warre; had reason to traine vp and seeke to leaue an heire that might maintaine his quarell and resist the *Romans* force with force, their warre with warre: and hauing so established his Throne, plentie of sutors would haue come from neighbouring Princes if not for loue, for feare, if not for feare, for profits sake, to winne such a succeders Amity. For as it is reported of *Tubanama* an *Indian* King, that he protested solemnly, he euer loued the *Spaniards*, because he hearde their swords were sharper farre than his: so I remember when at the selfesame time, the seuerall prouinces of *Gracia*, sent seuerall Embassadors to the Persian *Artaxerxes*, whose friendship all affecting, all indeuored by all the meanes they could to gaine: the King did voluntarily preferre the *Thobā* caule and *Pelopidas* sūe before the rest, because the same went they were the best practised of & most skillfull souldiers of all the rest, litle respecting the power of the *Athenians*, or the wealth or number of other of the Citties, who for want of militarie practise, neither knew how to vse their nūber, nor their powerfull weath: so then for power in the warre it is, one Kingdome is preferred before an other, and strangers euermore do most respect those strangers that are warriors.

The poore Artificers, the Mechanicke *Switzers* were not long since of most meane estimation till that prouoked by an injury of *Charles* the last Duke of the house of *Burgundy* like horses ignorant of their owne strength they entered the feilde and got a victorie whose sweetness so inticed them on to continue in that course to such there aduantage, that since that time some of the

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greatest

¹ Pet. Martyr.
Dec. 3. Cap. 3.

¹ Plutar. in Pelopid.

¹ Histor. de Com-
mes. Liure. 3.
Chap. 2.

• *Histoire des
Dernies,
troubl: liur. 2.
• Guibard:
Histe.*

greatestⁿ Princes of Christendome haue vied thousandes of Crownes to gaine their freindshippe, that in the warres of^o *Italie* the victorie did oftentimes follow their inclination, that last of all, all *Europe* at this day respects them well, and him the better whose freinds they professe themselves,

† *Baptist: Lenchi:
in politia ob-
seruat.*

The King of
France and
Queene of
England.

Thus the lowcountrimen (a name not many yeeres agoe vnknowne) were once Preputed a dull lazie yea a base Nation of poore handicrafts men, contemned of their neighbouring enemies & respected of their friends no further than necessitie inforced, yet after that as they professe their Lords seueritie had forced them against their willes to take vp weapons for their owne defence, they in shorte time redeemed so their reputation that their most powerfull neighbours were content to vndergoe inuious inputations for protecting the, whom men that lookt a squinte vpon the cause esteemed too much disobedient, & since that time the warre that gaue life to their force hath so encreased their might, that for this but on part of their power their strenght at sea, tis thought they cannot want good freinds to backe them,

¶ *Tit: Lini: De
3 lib. 2.*

¶ *Plutar: in Ro-
mul: vita.*

Since then the benefit of power skill and practise in the warre is such that by it the poore haue growne rich, the weake strong, and those that were reputed vile haue got an honorable reputation, since all sorts of men are either through feare earnest or through loue willing to entertaine frendly amitie with those especially that are renowned for it, since last a Commonwealth through it may growe fro small beginnings to vnlookt for height as that of *Rome*, *audendo et agendo*, by daring and doing rose from nothing to be Maisters of the world, who is he that remembers how *Romulus* euen in *Romes* infancie, did lay foundations of *Romes* greatnesse, by choosing out of his followers, those that were able to beare armes to be enroled into legions, that will not wish if he wish well to his Country, that his countries gouernors would

would provide so, for their Citties that they may never want souldiers to fight for them so long as they have Citizens to dwell within them. For my part when I remember how the *Roman* state, as it encreased in power did evermore encrease the well deserved respect it bare to souldiers, so that though while the weakenesse of their poore beginning lasted they only gaue them titulary rewards triumphs to Generall's, and to each priuate souldier that deserved it a severall Garland, yet in the yeere of their Citties age 347, at the taking of *Anxur* the *Wolsces* Towne, they ordained for them a certaine paye *publico* which was augmented afterwarde by *Cainus Gracchus* and doubted after him by *Julius Caesar*, so that in processe of time besides the gift of the gouvernement of infinite Townes Prouinces and Kingdomes, besides the sending forth of *Colonies* one cheife use whereof was *V's pramijs milites veterani affec-*
romur: that olde souldiers might be rewarded, and besides the ordinarie allowance for those legions that liued in *Rome*, the Emperour *Augustus* allotted out certaine portions of lande for those that had bene souldiers to maintaine them in a continuall readinesse to doe him and their Countrie service.

*Refin: Roman-
Antiquitar. lib-
10. Cap: 11.*

*Idem lib: 20.
Cap: 23.*

*Sueton: in Aug:
vita:*

When I remember how in Imitation of those *Romans* the auncient Kings of the *Gaules* gaue to their souldiers Mannors in the Countrie where they liued as Lords ouer the peasants their Tennants, and were tyed to come with a certaine number of followers according to the quality of their land to serue as voluntaries at their owne charge so long as the warre lasted, a custome yet obserued by their ospring the Gentry of *France*: when I remember how perhappes in imitation of those *Gaules*, *William* the Conqueror gaue to his followers our Gentries Auncestors distincte circuites in sondrie places of severall Landes of inheritance,

** Lul: 2: des
Recherches la
Fran:*

one of the heires of which distribution is reported since that timeto haue produced a rusty sword as the euidence by which he held his liuing: when I remember how the Kings of France vsed Knighting and when that was corrupted in the Ciuill warres of the houses of *Burgundie* and *Orleans* inuented new orders of Knighthood, as new honors to rewarde souldiers: When last I call to minde how gentlemen and their Coats of Armes tooke their originall from the warres as may appeare by *A-*
grippas obseruation that in Heraldry the best coates consist of sauage beasts to testifie the bearers nobility gotten by his courage: as saith he, the *Goths* caried a Beare, the *Saxons* a Horse, the *Romans* an Eagle, the *Cimbri* a Bull; and each particular Gentleman thinks it nothing honorable to carry a Sheepe, a Lambe, a Clafe, or such like peaceable creature that is not *Militia signum*, a token of warfare; Then my zeale to the warres and my loue to souldiers is so reuiued that I can scarce forbear wishing, that in *England* as in *Scythia* none might drinke of the feasting cuppe, or as in *Carmania* none might marry that had not slaine an enemy to his country: or as amonge the *Turkes* that none might be esteemed noble for Antiquity, but for their proper vertue: or as olde decrepite men were vsed amonge the *Troglodita* mentioned in *Diodorus Siculus*, that each yong scapethrift that is *Teluris inutile pondus*, a burden to the earth that can doe nothing wel, saue that that is passing ill might be tyed by the necke to an Oxes taile and so strangled as well, worthy so shamefull a death for doing nothing worthy of life. But on later and wiser consideration I finde it nothing comely that a Ciuill Country should breake her owne customes to imitate a barbarous people, yet euen these examples with those before mentioned may liuely testifie how necessary al antiquitie esteemed *Pramiaet bonores* rewards and honors, to nourish and hold vp the Arte of warre, one of the cheifest pillars of a Commonwealth

• Lecerch de la Fran.

• Lib. de. vanis: sciens.

• Lib. 3. Cap. 3.

wealth I cannot therefore but most seriously wishe
that our King a worthy in the worthiest kinde of Learning as he is the flower of two Stemmes of most renowned warlike auncesters, whom God hath giuen vs, ^b To goe out before vs and fight our battellor, to whom the King of Kings

^a Sam. i. cap. 8. ver. 20.

^c Virg: Aeneid: lib. i.

^c *Et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere ventos.*

Giues power as well as to appease
with calmes, with stormes to stirre the seas.

Would when it shall please his wisdom add life, I meane practise to our *Militia* that oft dyes at least decaies much through secure idlenesse, and that then the paie of *England* that is as honorable as any Nations may not be detained from or gelded before it come to the hands of poore souldiers by base vnwordly Captaines, nor the due of honest Captaines be with helde or lesned through the fraudulēt corruptiō of Decitfull officers; but that severity of military discipline may be reuiued to cut of those rotten members, those adulterate counterfeites whose basens hath made true souldiers contemptible, and that true souldiers euen in times of peace may bee as much respected as their vertuous worth deserues.

For then as by ^d *Licurgus* institution it was in *Sparta* our free noble spirits will betake them to the sword & launce, & leaue al other occupatiōs vnto white liuerd men: the our yong mē will exercise themselves as ^e *Coriolanus* did, in running, wrastling, riding, and the like warlike sports: and our olde men shall be fathers of great experience: so that with vs as with the ^f *Brasilienses* the yong men shall execute valiantly, the wise Counsaile of the olde men: then our gentlemen remembering in what foughten field, or for what speeiall seruice their Auncestors receiued their badges of honor, will fall to imitate those honorable Auncestors and knowing how poore a credite tis ^g *Aliorum incumbere*

^d Plutar: in Lycur.

^e Idem in Coriolan.

^f Ofor: lib. 3. de reb. gest: Emanuel.

fama, for to relie on other mens desert will striue rather to haue *Effigies tot bellatorum*, the images of their warlike auncestors, liuing in their hearts than dead and smoakedried in their houses: Then our countymen like *Marcellus* in *Rome* or the *Mamertines* in *Sicilie*, may perhaps haue honorable names deriued from *Mars*: Then it may be as many of one name as were of *Williams* at our King *Henrie* the second his Sonnes feast in *Normandie*, or as many of one family as were of the *Medcalfes* at on assize in *Richmondshire* will vowe themselues like the 300. *Fabij* in *Rome* to fight for their Countrie: at least we shall haue many breathren, (noble slippes of some noble stocke) that like the *Norrisses* of honorable memorie, will striue to be famous for dying valiant souldiers in the bed of honor, rather than infamous like some beasts vnworthy to be named in the same discourse *For their noted idle, if not worse life*. Then we shall haue many Captaines, such as were the *Greekes* and *Romans*, and our souldiers shall be as much renowned for valour, honesty and mutuall loue as was the holy bande at *Thebes*: And then nowe conquests shall make forreinors ashamed to laugh at vs when we tell of our forefathers victories in *France*, and our displayed ensignes shall keepe vs from blushing at our slothfull life: For then those true souldiers that whiles the warres serue but as suckes to ridde away *Purgamenta urbium*, lye hid like *Diamonds* heapt vp in dunghills couered with weedes, shall be as rich *Genimes* set in gold and worne and beautified by the comfortable reflexion of the rising Sunnes smiling beames, and in the meane time this may their comfort though like old English words they be now out of vse, yet

^aPlutar: in Marcell:

¹Idem in Pyrrho:

²Montag: Liure

2. Essay. 42.

³Camde: Br ita: in Richmond.

⁴Tut: Lini: De:

1. lib. 2.

^aPlutar. in Ptolipid.

^aHora: de arte poetica.

o *Multa renascentur qua nunc celsidere cadentq.*
Qua nunc sunt in honore.

They will be in request that are neglected, and they contemned

contemned that are nowe respected.

The time will come their countrie will leaue fawningly to offer vp hir wealth to those her vnworthy children that liue by sucking drie their Parents blood, and rather motherlike respect those sonnes that are hir Champions, and seeke to perchase her ease with painefull industrie, her honor with effusion of their bloude, her safety with y^e losse of life.

The fourth Paradox

It is more profitable to be a

The





The fourth Paradox.

Et multis utile bellum.

INCAN. I.

That warre sometimes lesse hurtfull, and more to be wisht in
a well governd State than peace.



weete I knowe is the name of
peace, more sweete the fruition,
to those ease-affecting men that
foolishly imagine it the greatest
point of wisdom to enioy the
benefit of present time, though
one of better iudgment tell them:

• Istud est sapere, non quod ante pe-
des modo est videre, sed etiam illa quae futura sunt prospicere.

Ter. in Adelphi:
Act: 3: sc. 3.

Tis wisdom not to cast our eyes

On that, that iust before vs lies,

But to foresee and to provide

For harmes that one day may betyde.

Some others without respect of publike benefite,
measuring the happinesse of the state wherein they liue
by their owne particular contentment do most eagerly
make warre against warre, the apparant enemy to *Persia*
luxurie

luxurie, whose sworne slaues they liue. And besides these the greatest part of men, blinded like these, doo tremble at the name of warre, for feare of his companion charge: not vnlike some wretched pennie-fathers, that in time of this our contagion, by resisting contributions fitting for the ordering of infected persons, are oft occasion of impouerishing themselves and their whole towne, of endauingering their owne and many hundred honefter mens liues.

But if it may appeare on better deliberation, that the warre, *b Est de l'enge temps & continue encor, & durera en sa force iusqu' a la fin du monde* Is of great antiquitie, continues yet, and will remaine in full force to the ending of the world, so that wee may well put it of, but cannot put it away, since like a torrent of waters it rises as occasion forceth here & there, and may a while be stayed, but encreasing so, breakes out in the end more violently, and as *Virgil* saith,

c Sternit agros, sternit sat a leta boumque labores

Præcipitesque trahit siluas &c.

The fields it ouerflowes, the corne is drowned.

Plowmen their labour loose, trees fall on ground &c.

Then it brings with it a confused desolation, whereas without daunger at the first, it might haue passed on by little and little in a continueate quiet course. If it may appeare, that luxurious idlenesse is much more to be feared than those monstrous bugbearers words I sometimes heare alleaged to dissuade men from the warres, the meere inuentions of fainthearted and effeminate men, that they may haue some colour for their dishonorable sloth. If last of all it may appeare, that in a iust and good quarrell, which cannot likely want a warre wisely managed, cannot but bee infinitely profitable: I thinke there is none that honours his King, wishes well to his country, or desires fame; but will farre preferre the shedding of his bloud, to procure his Kings honour, his

*b La Roque. li. i.
Du maniment
de l'art militaire.*

*c Virgil. lib. 2.
Æneid.*

countries safetic, or his owne reputation, before the sorded sparing, lazic liuing, or foolish delaying of those blinded men I mentioned.

For my owne part, I euer disliked those patient pleasing Chirurgions that with fond mildenesse suffer small hurts to fester, & grow dangerous: I euer feared lest temporizing (like looking on our neighbors burning house) would suffer the fire to come home to our owne doores, and then I feare our poore louing sheep wil too late see, they onely fed themselues fatt for the slaughter, when men most resolute, shall rather bee, determinate to doo, than skilfull how to ~~do~~. Then I feare our conquestes past will little profit vs, when ease like rust in our Armour shal haue eaten into and corrupted our valor when by discontinuance of practise, wee shall bee vnapt for seruice, yea by reason of the often change of the course of our warres directly ignorant, and that ignorant vnaptnesse will dismay the most confident: Then it may bee feared wee may too late repent our former negligence, our secure idlenesse, our sparing of a little to the endangering of all, when wee see our selues at length enforced to vndergo the danger with disadvantage which in time with ods, ^{our} side we might easily haue repelled: then we may wish we had imitated the *Romanes* wisdom, that foresaw inconueniences a farre of, and would not to auoid present warres, suffer mischiefes to grow on, ⁴ they inuaded *Philip* and *Antiochus* in *Gracia* lest othewise they might hane been enforced to deale with them in *Italy*. But my words perhaps are to these peace-louers as winde that shakes no corne, assuredly I know it hard to dissuade bewitched men from ease and pleasure, two seducing Syrens in whose beaustly seruitude too too many are intralld past recouerie: yet those worthy spirits in whose breasts the sparkes of our forefathers courage are not yet extinguished whose swelling hearts are ready to protest their English vertue hates effemi-

nacie

⁴ Machiavel:
Print: cap. 2.

nate, longs to shew it selfe in some laborious course of valiant industrie : They I doubt not will soone call to minde how dishonourable it was to the *Aegyptians* vnder *Ptolomie* : *Depositi militia studijs, otio & desidia marcescere*. To pine away in sloth and idlenesse, neglecting militarie profession, or how vnprofitable it was to the *Lydians* to liue in peace. *Qua gens industria quondam potens, & manu strenua, effaminata mollitie, luxuriaque virtutem pristinam perdidit* : which nation was once famous for valor and industrie, but they drownde the reputation of their auncient vertue in effeminate and luxurious delicacie. And with a feeling remembrance of those or the like examples, pray with mee that those, and the like inconueniences fall not on vs : that wee may not suffer our enemies or neighbours to grow too mightie, whilest carelessly wee our selues waxe weake and degenerate through sloth and ease, vnder the colour of a quiet life : I doubt not but their hopes are like to mine. For as that great Captaine *g Pyrrhus* did in some particulars well correct the vaine ~~vaine~~ voluptuous life of the *Tarentines*, so since God hath given vs a Gouvernour as valiant as, but much more wise than *Pyrrhus* : I hope, and my hope is strengthened with confidence, that that valor will incite, that that wisdom will direct our King, to take in hand the reformation of our idle life, more daungerous than that of the *Tarentines* : In better manner and to better purpose, then did that *Pyrrhus*. A worke worthie a King, that can bee worthily effected by 'none, but such a King, in whom there is all worthinesse. But heere mee thinks I heare some object to mee the successfull felicitye of the peaceable Reigne of our late Queene, whose happie memorie, and euer to be admired gouernment, farre bee it from my thankfull thoughts to touch with the least tittle of disgrace, whose wisdom such objectors too too saucely diminish producing

* *Iustin. Hystor.*
lib. 6.

* *Idem lib. 3.*

* *Plutarch: in*
vita Pyrrh.

her as an enimie to Militarie profession: her sex indeed, and in her later time fulnesse of daies might well excuse farre greater ease; yet see (that which these blinde men stumble ouer) from the first to the last in severall parts of Christendome, she euer found meanes to traine vp her better and more forward subiects in varietie of service; that so they might prooue good members of her Estate, and profitable seruants for her potent Successor: So wise men know, besides that many daungers were kept farre of, this Realme was still tollerably furnished with skilfull souldiers, and prudently rid of many inconueniencies: yet I must confesse the open shew of peace bred diuers corruptions, yet such as all States how euer wisely gouerned where peace is are of necessitie subiect to.

Who seeth not to what riot in apparrell, to what excessse in banqueting, to what height in all kinde of luxurie, our countrey was growne, when the flower of England, the gentrie and better sort, whom the meaner stroue to imitate, for the most part idly, if not lewdly brought vp, confirmed in their dissolute life, by superfluitie of ill example, became so exceeding foolish, that hee which eate good meat, and ware good clothes, and did some one thing worse, was ordinarily amonst them accounted most happie: How many of our elder brothers consumed whole and goodly patrimonies at dice and cards, hauing no other meanes to passe their time, as I haue oft times heard diuers of them penitently (but too late) complaine: how many of our younger brothers in all sorts of riotous expences, did in small time consume their portions, which otherwise employed in vertuous courses might soone haue equalled their elder brothers sonnes, and then exclaimeing against their parents, that dealt indeed too well with such vngracious children, fell to lewde courses, and oft times came to such yutimely ends as I shame to tell: and of both these,

the

the likeliest plants to prooue were most of all peruer-
ted, the spirits of best hope, did (bonett) step awry.

So ^h *Caesar* in his yonger daies, was most prodigall,
he grew indebted 700. thousand crowns. So ⁱ *Cimon*
in his former time was most riotous, and for it defamed
thorow the whole Citie of *Athen*: yet see, the warres
redeemed the one & he became a most renowned General:
the warres reclaime, the other & he proued as valiant
as *Themistocles*, as wise as was *Milciades*. Thus we may
read that *Silla*, *Alcibiades*, and diuers other carried them-
selues most lasciuiously, most wantonly in peace, till the
warres taught them to liue like souldiers: And like these
(I thinke) some of our countrey men, for spirit no whit
inferiour to *Caesar*, nor towardnes to *Alcibiades*, might
in time haue proued renowned souldiers and extraordi-
narie instruments of their countries honour, had they
not for want of imployment, to our publike losse, and
their priuate ouerthrow, spent their yonger yeares like
Cimon in riotous behauiour, and their age like *Lucullus*
in luxurious idlenesse: so that *Iuuenal* had hee liued in
their time might haue truly said.

*Nunc patimur longa pacis mala, senior armis
Luxuria incubuit. &c.*

*Now wee endure the discomfortie
Of our long peace oppressed by luxurie.*

*worse farre
than warre.*

But these were such whose finer mould was vncapable
of drudging courses, who perhaps as *Peter Martyr* ob-
serues of the Spaniards, thought it *Specialem nobilitati prero-
gatiuum ut otiosi, ac sine ulla exercitatione praterquam bellica-
vitam dederent*. The speciall priuiledge of a gentleman to
liue solitarily, free from all professions, saue that of armes.
This was indeed an auncient custome of our Gentry, till
peace made some, of Gentlemen become Boores, who
forgetting that their truest honour came by armes, liued

^h *Plutar: in
Caes: vita.*

ⁱ *Idem. in Cymo-
rita.*

² *Iuuenal: lib: 3.
sat. 6.*

¹ *Cap. 1. Deca. 6.*

as they said to themselves, some grassiers, some ploughmen, all basely sweating in the pursuit of drosse, hating the name of honour because it asked cost, and such as these robbing poore farmors of their practise, like weeds in vntild land, haue and still doe spinge vp in peace the patron of their basenesse, yet such as these might call to minde what Ciuill contention, rest and want of forraine warres occasions, they might remember how many haue beene vtterly vndone by vnecessary law brables, weighing well the number of those that haue shot vp/deciding such controuerfies, men I know whose laborious study deserues much commendation, but whe I thinke how^m *Plutarch* praises the *Cornithians* whose temples were adorned not with the spoiles of the *Grecians*, their freinds, their neighbours, vnhappy memories, but deckt with trophies of their victories against the barborous people their aduersaries; then I wish those necessary members of peace, whose good parts I reuerence, had rather gotten their wealth by the sworde from forraine enemies, like our worthy Auncestors, then so to haue growen great, through their Countreimens contentions.

Now besides this priuate contention whose nurse is peace, euen that peace is oftimes mother of more perillous dissention, when idlenesse ministers each actiue humour fit occasion of working, to the indangering of diseased, to the distempering of most healthfull bodies, when quite security giues busie heads leasure to deuide the common-wealth into contentious factions; so that as in^m *Solons* time at *Athens*, the people of the mountaines desiring this forme of gouernement, the men of the vallies that; to both which the inhabitants of the sea-coast maintaine a cōtrary: all catch hold of the opportunity peace offers to plot, and put in practise their seuerall proiects for the aduancement of their peticular, though with the weakning of the publike state, and in

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^m In *Timoleō*:
vita.

^m In *Solons*:
vita.

the end like *Pyrrhus* disordered elephants, some running backward, some forward, and the rest standing still, the confusion of their actions me thinkes resembles well the *Indus* dannee described by *P. Benzo* where *diuerso modo singuli vestiuntur et alij hoc, alij illo modo corpus circumgunt, nonnulli crura attollunt, aliqui brachia, alius cacum, alius surdum effugit, vident alij, alij plangunt &c.* Where all are clothed after sondrie fashions, one turning his body this way, another that way, some lifting vp their legs, some their armes, one playing the blind man, another the deafe, some laughing, some weeping &c. But the danger of these differences is the greater because not sensible, till strangers that growe through them courageous, take the aduantage of them, and then too late we may remember *Linies* warning by the example of *Ardea* that such dissention hath beene more hurtfull to sundry Citties, than fire, famine sicknes or the sworde, or what other calamitie cā be imagined while we too soone forget the last aduertisement dying *Scanderbeg* gaue his sonne, in these words worthy to liue euer. *Nullum tam potens validumq; imperium quod non corrumpat quandoq; ubi nuntius odijs prabetur locus.* There is no gouernment so well established, that will not suie it selfe, if once it harbor partiall enmities.

These enmities haue beene instruments in most Countries ouerthrowes, they ouertake vs in our securitie like secret fiars in the night, and are therefore more to be feared, they steale on vs by degrees hidden in the deepnesse of our rest, like the consumption in a body vnpurged, vnexercised, that is indeede lesse painefull yet proues more mortall than most diseases; they are as plentifully bred in peace ^{as} *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*, and would in time proue as pernicious, but God that for mans good prouides the *Iehennem* to destroy the egges

Idē in Pyrrho.

¶ Nova noui orbis historia lib: 2. Cap: 16.

¶ Tit: Liv: lib: 42. Deca: 1.

¶ Mar: Barles: in vita Scanderbe

¶ Diad: Sicul: lib: 2. Cap: 4.

of

of the one before they bee hatched, hath left vs a perfect remedie to dissipate the other, if wee bee not to our selues defectiue; to wit, forreine warre, a soueraigne medicine for domesticall inconueniences, wherby those stirring heads that like the Spaniards *Bellum quam otium malunt, ideoque si de sit extraneus domi hostem querunt*. Desire warre rather than quietnesse, and therefore fall out at home if forreine foes bee wanting: shall haue more honest and more acceptable meanes to busie themselves, when as u *Oscius* saith: *Commune periculum facile omnium animos ab intestinis seditionibus auocabit, ad commune malum propulsandum*: The generall daunger will soone withdraw mens mindes from intestine garboiles to resist the generall mischief, both which appeared in that wise proceeding of the *Senate* of Rome in *Coriolanus* time that by this means appeased all diuisions, euen then when as y *Linus* obserues heat of contention betwixt the people and nobilitie had made, *Ex una ciuitate duas*: Of one ~~one~~ two Cities. For the populousnesse of that Citie, by reason of their peace occasioning a dearth and famine, and their idlenesse stirring vp lewd felowes to exasperate the desperate need and enuious malice of the meaner sort, against the nobility, whose pride & luxurie grown through sloth intolerable, caused them to contemne and iniurie the poorer people, in the end the fire brake forth hard to be quenched, and then the *Senate* hauing as I may say bought wit by this deare experience, were at length enforced to flie to this medicine, which wisely applied before, had well preuented all those causes, and their vnhappie effectes. Then they resolved on a warre with the *Volsces* to ease their City of that dearth, by diminishing their number, and appease those tumultuous broyles, by drawing poore with rich, and the meane sort with the Nobilitie, into one campe, one seruice, and one selfesame daunger: sure meanes to procure sure loue and quietnesse in a contentious Commonwealth,

* *Iustinus* Histor.
lib. 44.

u *Lib. 9. de rebus*
gestis. Emanuelis.

w *Plutarchus* in
Coriola. vita.

y *Lib. 2. Deca. 1.*

monwealch, as that of *Rome* was at that time.

Yet euen then there wanted not home tarrying houf-
doues, two peacebred tribānes *Sicinius* and *Brutus*, hin-
dred that resolution calling it crueltie, and it may be
some now will condemne this course, as changing for
the worse: some that wil much mislike a body breaking-
out should take receipts of quick-siluer or mercurie, that
may endanger life: yet they cannot but knowe euen
those poysons outwardly applied are souereigne medi-
cines to purge and cleanse, and therefore hauing a good
Physition, I must professe, I thinke it much better to
take yeerely Physicke, when the signe is good and cir-
cumstāces are correspondēt, that may worke with some
litle trouble, our health and safetie, than through sor-
dide sparing, or cowardly feare of paine, to omitte
happy opportunities of remedy, & so suffer our bodies
perhaps crasie alreadie, so to sincke that death followes
or at least some grieuous sickenesse, asking farre deeper
charge, bringing farre greater torment, especially since
the sickenesse of a state, were it as great as a palsey may by
a skilfull Physition be purged and euacuated at an issue
in some remote part.

I cannot but therefore commend *Camillus* wise-
dome for beseiging the Cittie of the *Faleriens*, though
it were so strongly scituated, so well stored with victual,
and so fortified with all manner of munition, that the se-
cure Citizens walkt vp and downe the Cittie in their
gownes, since not regarding the winning of the Towne
as appeared, by his ouerslipping weightie aduantages his
intente, only was to keepe his Countreimē busied about
some thing, lest otherwise repairing to *Rome* they
might growe through peace and idlenes seditious, & so
raise some ciuil tumult: This was as *Plutarch* wel obserues
a wise remedy, the *Romā* s euer vsed to disperse abroad
like good Physitions the ill humours that troubled the
quiet state of their Commonwealch: *Ce qui s'est entre-*

Plutarch: in
Camill: vita,

fecis pratique' apres les guerres ciuiles des Anglois, which hath beene sometimes put in practise after the ciuill warres of England, as Master *La Noue* deliuereth.

2 Discours: poli-
ti: 9.

If then those men that maruaile how *Philip* the second that wanted not his ouersight was euer able to possesse *Spaine* in tollerable quietnesse, his people hauing beene of olde time as their dealing with the *Romans* shewes of a rebellious disposition, the continuance whereof made *Ferdinand* of *Portugal* refuse to be their King, and *Iohn* the second with a wall as high as heauen betwixt his people and them, which turbulencie continues yet, euen in the better of them, how euer some maintaine the contrarie, as some yeares past was manifest, by the ambitious and seditious pride of *Alonso Julian Romero* and some other Spanish Captaines, when *Don Iohn* of *Austria* consulted for passing his army out of the Low-countries into *Italy*, as hath not long since sundry times appeared by the mutenous reuolts of his oldest souldiers for want of pay: If yet I say those men that maruaile so, would by that rule of the *Romans* examine that *Phillips* proceedings in imitation of his father *Charles the first*, It wil euidently appeare that he procured the peace of *Spain* and his own safety by keeping his active subjects in continual employment, farre from home, where their Eagle-like piercing eyes might not come to prye into his Actions, nor maliciously obserue the distastes his gouernment occasioned.

* The Parne-
tical discourse.
* *Ibidem*.

* In the Low-
countries 1000
at one time.
Estates of En-
glish Fugitiues.

* *Plutarch: in*
Peric.
* *Ibidem*.

Hee did not forget that the Satute of *Pericles* was grauen with a helmet on to hide the deformitie of his onion-like head, nor that that *Pericles* sent 60. Gallies euery yeare to sea, and many hundreds of men away by land, to rid his Citie of idle persons: but making vse of both, receiued the fruit of both, besides this further benefit, that as weeds in *England* proue oft good fallers in *France*, those his malecontented and suspected subjects, while they were at home, by their industrious life

vnder

under severity of Military Discipline became of good members, and were for their experience not vnworthily accounted as readie souldiers as most in Christendome, which opiniõ was vn doubtedly a great strength to king *Phillips* enterprises, making the temporizing *Venetians* and other States of *Italy*, more affraid than needed.

Then howsoeuer some may bee dissuaded by *Cato's* ^{Appian.} liuely demonstration of *Carthage* too neere neighbourhood, from drawing on vs such an enemy as may in lesse than three daies sailing knocke at the gates of our great Citie: and others in remembrance of some actions past, may seem to dislike sending our forces so farr from home that for want of fresh supply of men or other necessaries, the voyage how auspicious soeuer the beginning bee, wanting sure footing, must of necessity proue as a fading bubble: I for my part leauing the election of our warres as a matter scarce fit to be thought on by so young a head as mine, to the mature consultation of our Senate, and iudicious resolution of our Souereigne, with more loyall zeale to my King and Countrey, than loue (which I confesse is great) to the warres, wish, and with faith wish, that our settled state may reape infinite commoditie by that ^a politique rule, grounded on *Cicero Nasica's* desire to haue *Carthage* stand, that for the reasons *Scipio* then alleaged, wils euery Kingdome to prouide it selfe an enemy as the ^b *Romans* had many whose fall was their aduancement, as the ⁱ *Athenians* had them of *Samos* whose inuasion appeased their domestick tumults, as last of all the ^k *Macedonians* had the *Thracians* and *Illyrians*: *Quod um armis, veluti quotidiana exercitatione indurati gloria bellica laudis finitimos terrebant*: With whose hostility as with a daily exercise they were so hardned that their neighbors liued in awe of their renowned valor: that so feare of the enemy may keep our people from ease and luxurie, the fatall ruine of States and Countries, yea sometimes ^l conquering Armies at *Capua*,

^a La Noue Dis. cour. polit. & militar. 9.

^b Machiavel:

ⁱ Priu. cap. 29.

^k Plutarch. in

vita Alcibiad.

^l Justin. Histor. lib. 7.

^{As} Annibals

¹ Quint: Curt.
lib. 6.

that dealing with that enemie in imitation of *Alexander* after *Darius* ouerthrow, our men of warre may be so trayned and kept in vre that for want of practise the life of all Arts, but most necessary, in the most necessarie Arte of warre, our warlike discipline decay not, and so sincke, if not the estate, yet the honor of our state and Countrey.

² Plutarch: in
vita Lycur.

³ Ibidem & in
lib: de dict: et
fact: Lucad.

⁴ Tit Liv: lib. 3.
Dec. 1.

⁵ Plutar: in
Romul.

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Ibidem: vilit:
capiend: ex hosti-
bus.

But heere whether to haue one and the same still or rather varietie of enemies be more requisite would aske a more particular discourse to decide, than this generall Paradox may admitte: *Licurgus* knowing the inestimable benefite of military practise, was desirous his people should haue warre but not with one and the same Nation lest they might be blamed as *Agasians* was by *Antalcidas*, for making the *Thebans* against their willes by continuall innading them to his owne hurt, skilfull souldiers; yet some may thinke it best grappling with one whose strength we know, whom by conquering we know how to ouercome, whose fashions our souldiers are vsed to, but I dare not speake all I could, lest my meaning be applyed as I would not, this I say, since it was truly said of the *Romans*, *Magis bellantes quam pacati habuerunt deos propitios*: That they were more fortunate in warre than peace: It was wisely (I thinke) fained of *Romulus* that the Gods told him his Citty should proue the mightiest in the world, so it were raised by warres, and increased by armes, and well confirmed afterwards by *Proclus*, deliuering the same to the people as a message from *Romulus* after his Deifying to perswade them indeede to warre, which this politicke *Roman* and that worthy king foresawe was like to be most beneficiall for them: this I say, since *Plutarch* rightly saies that Cittyies by warring with their neighbours, become wise in their carriage and learne to affect good gouernment: it was not vnwisely doone of *Robert* the second of *Scotland* to will his Peeres and subiects

subjects in his last will and Testament, to haue peace neuer about 4 yeeres together in respect of the benefit he had found and should receiue by continuall exercise in military matters.

That then I may shut vp this short and slight discourse seeing that to speake of peace perpetuall in this world of contention, is but as *Aristotles fatix, Xenophons Cyrus, Quintilians Orator*, or Sir Thomas Moores *Utopia*, a matter of mere contemplation, the warre being in this iron age *si bien enracinée qu'il est impossible de l'en ôter, Si non avec la ruine de l'vniuers*. So well ingrafted that it is impossible to take it away without a vniuersall destruction: seeing that the quarrelles of this world are either of Christians against *Turkes*, and infidelles; in defence of Christ Crucified, which ought neuer, and I assure my selfe shall neuer be extinguished till the names of those dogges be cleane extirpated: or between Christians, with such inueterate malice and irreconcilable wrongs fortiles so intricate, as in mans witte is to be feared will neuer be appeased, satisfied, decided, seeing that many of the Princes of this world, though they talk of peace and amitie to winne time, til their proiectes come to full ripenesse, seruing their turnes with that sweete name which they know is likely to blindfolde ease-affecting people, yet in their hearts desire nothing lesse: when as some of them weakened with the violent courses of their hereditary ambition, that can neuer be tamed, seeke peace as a breathing only to recouer strength: others warely respecting our encreased greatness, and their owne vnsetled state make faire shewes now, but are like enough here after vpon aduantage to proue false hearted: others hauing gotten much wealth, gayned much reputation, encreased their power, and maintayned their libertie by the sword, will neuer endure the losse of these by hearkning to peace, since last there neuer wanted coulorable pretences to breake those

La Roque
livi. I: du mani-
ement de l'Art
militaire.

4th Hist.

lib. 42.

771. Livie

lib. 3. Deca. 1.

those truces, that like the * *Parthians* promises are only obserued, *quatenus expedit*, as farre as is expedient, and made like that of the y *Sannites* who entertained peace with the *Romans*, *non quod pacem volebant, sed quia non erant parati ad bellum*: not that they desired peace, but because they were vnprepared for warre.

Let me not be blamed if I speake what I thinke, and as the scope of this discourse directs, deliuer, that is more safe and honorable (making a league with some of them, so that necessitie of state may force them to be faithfull) to keepe some other of them at the swords point, while fearing our strength, or their owne feeblenes, *cauponantur pacem*, they but chaffer for peace, rather than by temporizing giue them time to rurne tables, and fall on vs, when our leaders shall be waxed old, and the number of them much diminished, when our best souldiers shall be raw *Besognios* brought to some execution of importance, before they were fitte to learne what was fitting for the to doe, when our discipline corrupt before shall be cleane rotten and as little worth as our cantred rusty weapons at a day of seruice, whe our ships of warre one of the greatest strengths & honours of our kingdome, shall for couetous desire of gaine, be easlyer in one yeece turnd to hois of *Burdē*, thā cā be reduced back againe, to doe our Countrie seruice in an other 5 and 40. whe our sea-men shall be few, and skilfull only in their owne ordinarie course, passing directly as they are bound at best seasons: where as long voiges, liuing at sea, varietie of weathers, change of Climates, searching and sounding all harbors, bayes, creekes, and corners, with ships well stored with men, is it that brings forth store of skilfull Maisters, skilfull pilots, skilfull Marriners, when last of all our people shall be more luxurious through such dangerous securitie, more contentious among themselves, more carelesse of the honour of the State, and in conclusion more ready to receiue some fatall overthrowe

y^r ^{rs}

than euer heere tofore.

These therefore and infinite other weighty considerations springing freshly out of my zealefull regarde of my countries welfare, and the desire I haue to aduenture the shedding of my bloud might I be once so happy in my Kings seruice, makes me with seruencie of spirit wish his maiestie may euer haue as ² Charles the 8 of France ² Guichard: Hist: lib. 1. had once, *Infinite multitudes of men, resolute of mindes, for seruice apte, of faith assured, of willes tractable, for commandment obedient, and lastly bearing all one common desire, to runne hand in hand to any danger for the glory and greatness of God & their King.* And that our comon-wealth may neuer want many such worthy *Patriots* as will valiantly when time serues, hazard themselves, their freinds, and their best fortunes, in painefull industrie to procure their countries assured safetie, that their example may make our Gentry ashamed of their much dissolute, degenerate dishonorable courses, the scorning stocke of proude contemning forreine Nations, that is desiring earnestly to shewe the world their swords can cut as keene as their forefathers, by this first stepp to such desire, they may professe with me and that with constancie,

² *Militia est potior:*

the warre

is better farre:

Pulchrumq; mori succurrat in armis.

And thinke how worthelie they die that armed die.

² Hor: sat. 1.

Virgil: *AEnid:*
1.

FINIS.

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